

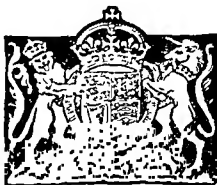
INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION

PROCEEDINGS OF MEETINGS

VOL. XVII

SEVENTEENTH MEETING HELD AT BARODA

December 1940



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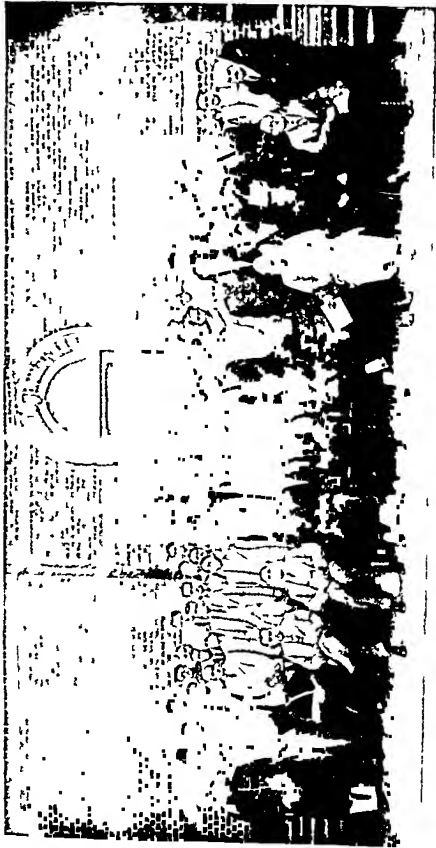
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PART I.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE PUBLIC MEETING OF THE SEVENTEENTH SESSION OF THE INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION.



d f o u l t o R—Sr mat kamabusa k le (Indore) Dr G L Gopra (Lal nagar) Dr N Sen (Sec) D wan Babdur Dr S K Yangar (Madras) Dr B S Banja
d g l t o R (Jat Row)—Gen rail N C Shinde (Baroda) Mr R B Pedural (Tran anore) Mr C V Chandrasekharan (Tran anore) Mr V C Tr edi (T onas) Dr M A C (T agl tas) (T onas) Dr M D el mukh (Cwal r) Dr Prakash Chandra (Gwal r) D A K (Bx u Bhvapur) Dr S V el (H atas) I prof C S r n as far (Madras) Dr H C R yow lury (Calcutta) Dr A I Das Gupta (Calcutta) Mr P A barya (Mys urban) Dr H N S hns (Nag ur) Dr H J acri (Baroda) Dr R D R Bhander (Delh) Mr A C Kalupalar (Madras) Dr C K Majumdar (Da ca) Mr S M Jaffar (I shawar) Dr K K Batts (I atas) Mr K I M tra (Vonghyr) (Allah abad) Mr B A Das (Baroda) Dr N S Waka kar (Baroda) Dr V S astava (L Kaner) Mr K K D ed j an le (I rgar) Sardar Can la Singh (Amr tsa) Dr H R C urta (I R D) Mr N S hns (Cal cuta) Dr A G L war (Kodh ur) Mr S V untambaker (Benares) Mr D V I tadar (I onas) Mr B B Banerjee (I R D) Dr Prasad G S Sava (Poona) Mr K K Rand e (Baroda) Mr A H K an (J anced) Dr Dwarikanth Ghosh (I ar la) Mr S V Mukerjee (Baroda) Mr j os H K I rry Sen th (Rasulp nd) Mr S Ghosh (I R D) Mr Y M Kals (Dol lars) Dr H A Sale ore (Alm dabab) Mr T K Salas (Bhawan) Mr D N Baner) (Dacca) Mr M B Majumdar (Baroda) Mr C V J osh (Local Sev) Mr K H Kamdar (Baroda) Dr N L Chatter ee (Lucknow) Mr V R Tal akar (Baroda) R D Dr S K Bhasan (Gashat) Mr S S Bhalla (I R D)

Proceedings of the Public meeting of the seventeenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held in the Baroda College Hall, Baroda, on the 21st December 1940

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The public meeting of the seventeenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held in the Baroda College Hall, Baroda, on the 21st December 1940. In the unavoidable absence of Sir Girja Shanker Bajpai, K B E, C I E, I C S, the Honourable Member in Charge of the Department of Education, Health and Lands and *Ex-Officio* President of the Commission, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, M A, C I E, Honorary D Litt, the senior member of the Commission presided over the meeting.

The following members were present:

1. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, M A, C I E, Hon. D Litt
2. Dr. Sir Shafat Ahmad Khan, M A, Litt D
3. Dewan Bahadur D. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M A, Hon. Ph D, M R A S
4. Dr. G. L. Chopra, M A, Ph D, Barrister at Law, Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab (Also represented the Government of the Punjab)
5. Mr. B. B. Chakrabarti, B A, B L, Keeper of the Records of the Government of Bengal
6. Dr. B. S. Bhatia, M A, Ph D (Lond.), Curator, Major's Record Office
7. Khan Bahadur A. I. M. Abdul Ali, M A, F R S L (Additional Member)
8. Dr. S. N. Sen, M A, Ph D, B Litt (Oxon), Keeper of the Records of the Government of India (*Secretary*)

Rev. Father H. Heras, S. J., M A, Professor of History, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, and a member of the Commission was absent as he had not returned to India from Spain. Lt. Col. H. Bullock, I A, Deputy Judge Advocate General, North Western Circuit Headquarters, Northern Command, Rawalpindi, Additional Member, was also absent on account of his military duties in connection with the war.

Rao Bahadur Sir A. T. Krishnamachari, K C I E, the Dewan of Baroda having arrived at the College premises at 10.30 a.m. the members and elected members of the Commission were introduced to him by the Chairman. A group photograph was then taken after which the members walked in procession into the College Hall. They having taken their seats, the Chairman read out his address.

Speech of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Chairman

DIWAN SAHIB, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN

In the unfortunate absence of our *ex-officio* President, Sir Girja Shanker Bajpai, I have to preside over this session of our Records Commission. The Commission meets in Baroda for the first time, but it meets under the shadow of a great calamity. His Highness Sir Sayaji Rao Gekwad, after filling the Indian world with his fame for half a century, left us only a short time ago, in the fullness of years and honour. His political foresight, administrative skill, tireless activity, firmness of character

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and royal gift of choosing the ablest instruments, had marked out for him a place all by itself in the estimation of Asia and Europe alike. We as students of history are more concerned with his liberal and yet highly judicious patronage of learning and encouragement of every form of beneficent activity at home and abroad with a most rare catholicity of spirit. His young successor, Maharajah Partap Singh Gekwal at the commencement of what we pray may be his equally long and prosperous reign when engaged in various new undertakings for the good of his subjects and the promotion of art letters and industry has been afflicted with two severe bereavements in the course of the last four weeks. This Commission begs to offer him our respectful condolence on his successive sad losses.

There could be no more worthy Indian State than Baroda for the meeting of the Commission. This State was the first to join our sessions in its early days. It has an organised Records Department under officers active and eager to learn among whom I am glad to see our old friend Mr R. K. Ramdive M.A. as our *Melmir* for today. Above all the Baroda State has set an example to other States and even to many a British Indian Province by the vigorous publication of its historical records in excellent scholarly editions. The records in the Marathi language that it has published, clearly arranged with English summaries and notes, have already filled five volumes. Its historical documents in the English language have been issued in five volumes under the careful and learned supervision of recognised authorities like Father Genes and Mr Binaji. A still wider circle of scholars this state has had under deep obligation by its publication of the Swapn Rao Gekwal Oriental Series of which many works of the highest value, both on the Sanskrit and Persian sides together with most useful translations of some of them have been printed under the learned care and persistent energy of Dr Binoytosh Bhattacharya, who has thus rightly extended the reputation for erudition of the front rank which his own writings on Indian iconography and similar subjects had won for him. Above all Baroda City has been a centre of the brightest light in the fields of intellectual activity, the cultivation of the fine arts and elevation of the general cultural level no less than in that of industrial and economic uplift and the adoption of the modern progressive spirit. We are happy in being the guests of such a Government and such a people.

The Indian Historical Records Commission has now completed 21 years of its existence and expanded and developed on new lines in the course of its evolution. Its members have become practised in the art of hunting for and utilising records with success. They have made solid contributions to the history of India on the sure basis of newly discovered records, and by the still more difficult art of interpreting known documents in the light of fuller knowledge and a new outlook. Above all the holding of our annual sessions in different provinces and States has brought together scholars and archivists from all parts of our vast country and made them, I may claim a band of brothers united in the search of truth about India's past life and road to her future.

and will prove most helpful in any plan for the future reorganisation of the Indian Historical Records Commission that may be contemplated.

I now invite your Excellency as the Maharajah's representative, to open our present session.



H. H. Maharaja Pratapsingh Gaekwar Sena Khaskhel, Samsher Bahadur.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

Sir Jadunath Sarkar has explained to you why His Highness is unable to come here to-day to open this session. I have been asked by him to read out the speech which he has prepared for opening this session. I now proceed to do so.

Inaugural speech of His Highness Maharaja Pratapsingh Gaekwar, Sena Khasheh, Samsher Bahadur, Baroda

MR. PRESIDENT, MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It gives me sincere pleasure to extend a most cordial welcome to the members of the Records Commission.

It is not without trepidation that I, an amateur in the field, venture to make a few remarks before a body of learned historians.

Looking at the list of places at which you have so far met, I find that this is the first time you are holding your session in Gujarat. I hope that your deliberations here will give a much needed stimulus to research in the history of this part of India.

The history of Gujarat has not received the attention which the history of other parts of India has. To mention one example—Much valuable work has been done by European and Indian scholars in Marathi history. Grant Duff, Rande, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Riyawde, Parasmis, Khare and Sardesai have laboured assiduously in that field. Your Commission has made available to the public the records in the Peshwa's Daftar. There is thus available abundant original material for the study of Marathi history. With Gujarat, however, the position is different.

Some work on its medieval history has been done by Forbes. The authors of *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (a portion of which has been translated into English in our Oriental Series) and *Mirat-i-Sikandari* have thrown valuable light on the Muslim period. But a good deal still remains to be done, and many an unexplored region in the history of Gujarat still requires considerable spadework.

This province has a rich history. It has seen the rise and fall of great dynasties. It was under the sway first of the Mauryas and the Kshatrapas and later of the Guptas, the Valabhis, the Chavadas and the Solankis. At the end of the thirteenth century the Muslims conquered it, and Gujarat was one of the most important provinces of the Mughals. With the decay of the Mughal Empire were set in motion the forces that have produced the map of the country as it now is. The earlier dynasties had developed a high civilisation. The archaeological remains which we find, bear testimony to the part which they played in the past history of India. The monuments at Dabhoi, Champaner, Modhera, Ahmedabad and Patan, the old capital of Gujarat (where recent excavations are yielding interesting results), remind us of the past greatness of the Gujarat rulers. I hope in the midst of your strenuous labours here you will be able to find time to visit some of these monuments.

More fascinating still is the cultural history of this period—the history of the literary and religious movements which have left their mark on modern Gujarat. The manuscript libraries in Ahmedabad, Patan and other places contain material of the highest value for such studies. Recently the Griekwad's Oriental Series issued a list of the important manuscripts, mainly Jain in origin, in the libraries at

Patan These works constitute a storehouse of information relating to Jain culture and civilisation and to social institutions in Gujarat. These and other fields await trained workers.

As far as the record office of my State is concerned, it contains records dating from 1724. Some of these have been selected and published in five volumes, and the sixth volume is expected to be out very soon. Father Gens and Mr Banaji have also published important documents bearing on the history of the Gackwads. In 1928 in accordance with the recommendations of your Commission the Baroda Record Office was inspected by Prof Rawlinson and the suggestion made by him have been carried out by my Government. Our Record Office is accessible to all genuine research students.

An exhibition of historical manuscripts is in adjunct of the annual meeting of this Commission. We have attempted therefore to organise one in which we have kept together such manuscripts, paintings, inscriptions etc. as we have been able to collect. I am afraid it cannot compare favourably with previous exhibitions held under your auspices such as it is. I invite all of you to visit it. I should like here to thank the Provinces and States and the research institutes and private gentlemen who have generously sent us exhibits.

In India as elsewhere, we are on the eve of momentous changes. The study of history would have no meaning and would be barren and futile if the knowledge of the past had no significance for the present and was no guide for the future. We must above all else emphasise the central fact of India's long history that there is a distinct type of thought and life in India which has been enduring through the centuries to which the different races and religions in the country have made their contribution and in which all of them find common ground.

I wish you a most successful session.

Speech of Dr S. A. Sen, Secretary

NEKVAMDAR DEWAN SAHIB, MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

Sir Jadunath Sarkar has already explained under what unfortunate and unforeseen circumstances His Highness could not attend this function. The Honourable Sir Girja Shanker Bajpai expected to be able to join us until day before yesterday when it was suddenly discovered that one of his daughters badly and immediately
 he is more sorry
 He has asked
 to do so

Address of Sir Girja Shanker Bajpai, President

It gives me great pleasure to welcome Your Highness to this the seventeenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission and to thank you for kindly consenting not only to inaugurate it but to let it meet in your Capital and to extend to all of us your bounteous hospitality. If I may say so this is in conformity with the traditions of your house and in particular of your grandfather, whose enlightened interest in scholars and scholarship was a marked feature of his many-sided activities. We mourn his loss but salute in Your Highness a successor whose patronage of art will be no less generous, no less enlightened and no less abiding.



Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, K C I E, Dewan of Baroda.

History it has been said provides its own inspiration. There is a wealth and variety of appeal in its pageantry and its pathos—a note if one may use a metaphor from the world of music for every human ear. That is perhaps why the Greeks imagined a Muse to be its presiding deity, but the history that stirs their hearts or shapes men's judgment of events is the finished work of the historian—the result of unceasing study, of profound reflection and, ultimately, of an imaginative recreation of the past. Divorced from fact it would be no other than artistic fiction, an effort of fancy, not if you will in the appeal of pure art but without the foundation of factual truth. It is in the discovery and testing of that truth that records play a vital part. Our Commission is designed to discover, to collect, to preserve records of historic importance to India, to catalogue, collate and edit them—in brief to make them available for the use of students of history. The task is not an easy one. The antiquity and vicissitudes of India's history, her size, her climate, the comparative paucity of records as a source of history have combined to produce a mixed bag—difficult to garner and difficult to handle. Without self-praise the Commission can claim to have done much. But a great deal more remains to be done. We still stand on the fringe of a wide field. Government sources in British India have by no means been completely gleaned. Many Indian States whose wealth in this kind of historical material should be great still have to unfold their treasures. Even private individuals probably hold much that may prove of value to the common store.

Are we satisfied that our means are equal to our enterprise? That is the practical question. Only an unreasoning optimist will answer 'Yes'. The deficiency is not so much in men and money, though we could do with more men trained in the technique of handling records, and an abundance of money has never been our lot so far. Our sense of disappointment, I had almost said frustration comes from public indifference. Pride in India's past is a sincere element of our nationalism. Established historical truth which should be the foundation of that pride is taken for granted. I am not suggesting that there is no basis for a proud patriotism in India; there is a great deal. But the main question is whether that base cannot be widened and made firmer. I have no doubt that it can, and through historical research, using that expression in a broad sense. The idea that such research must be left to a few professional votaries of history, that the ordinary citizen has neither the obligation of duty nor the incentive of useful service to the historian is wrong. Apart from the State, the individual has a contribution to make to rescuing and reconstructing the past—the man of wealth by giving of his wealth, the man with control over the material of history by making that material available to those competent to make use of the skilled historian. It is not for the historian to plead that the concern of odd specialists but is an essential part of patriotic endeavour to give India a renaissance, which is a process of historical evolution, the unassailable security of a documented sequence.

SEKNAMDIP DEWAN SAHAI,

At this stage the Chairman invited Mr R. K. Ranadive to read his paper entitled "The Navy of the Greeks". The reading of papers continued up to 12.30 p.m. when the meeting adjourned for lunch. After lunch the members visited the State Record Rooms, Oriental Institute, State Jewellery and the Central Library. The reading of papers was resumed at 1.30 p.m. and continued till 7.30 p.m. The Secretary thereafter thanked the Local Officer and others for the help they rendered to the Commission. The Local Officer returned thanks and said that the people of Baroda highly appreciated the honour the Commission had done them by holding the seventeenth session at Baroda. The public meeting was concluded with a vote of thanks to the chair moved by Dr R. C. Majumdar.

On the following morning at 9.30 a.m. the member meeting was held in a big shramana erected for the purpose in the compound of the Guest House under the chairmanship of Sir J. N. Sarkar. After lunch the members visited the Maharaja Palace, Kutubuddin Ahmed's tomb, Bhairi Fort, Gold and Silver guns, Kirti Mandir and the Historical Exhibition. On the 23rd the members visited Dahanu and Bhamburda by special train and Champaener by motor buses.

A Historical Exhibition in this connection was organised by the Government of Baroda in the State Museum which was opened to the public from the 22nd to the 25th. The lists of exhibit will be found in Appendix K.

Names of Gentlemen appointed by the Government of India as co-opted Members for the Seventeenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Baroda on the 21st and 22nd December 1940

*Did not attend the session

*Did not attend the public meeting

*Not a representative of the Universities Act of 1921

Representatives of the Provincial Governments Act of 1927

Representatives of the Indian States Act of 1930

*1 Mr M R Ravi P P Saksheeraniya Sastri B.A. Professor of Sanskrit Presidency College, Madras, and Curator Government Oriental Manuscript Library Madras

*2 Sri Lakshminarayana Hurchandur Taziley Raja Sahel of Tekkali District Virajapatnam Madras

*3 Mr A D Rao M.A. LL.B. Lecturer in History Ramnarayan Ruia College Bombay

*4 Mr D A Apt B.A. Anand Ashram Poona

*5 Dr M A Chughtai M.A. Ph.D. Professor, D. C. College Post Graduate and Research Institute Poona

*6 Prof. Sardar V. Potluri B.A. 180 Shanwar Poona

*7 Mr M C Trivedi B.Sc. (Hons.) Municipal Government Ph.D. Research and Photographic Laboratory Government Poona

*8 Dr N K Sinha M.A. Ph.D. Lecturer Calcutta University 47 A Lakhna Road Ballygunge Calcutta

*9 Dr P C Gupta M.A. Ph.D. 125 Rishbehchari Avenue Calcutta

*10 Dr A P Das Gupta M.A. Ph.D. (London) Assistant Controller of Examinations Calcutta University Calcutta

*11 Dr D R Bhattacharya M.A. Ph.D. 24 Lovelock Street Calcutta

*12 Dr R C Majumdar M.A. Ph.D. Vice-Chancellor Dacca University

*13 Dr B C Choudhury M.A. Ph.D. Professor of Political Science Banars Hindu University Benares

*14 Mr R N Niaz M.A. 14 Clyde Road Lucknow

*15 Professor Muhammad Habib B.A. (Oxon) Bar at Law Muslim University Aligarh

*16 Dr S K Benerjee M.A., LL.B. Ph.D. (London) Reader Lucknow University Lucknow

*17 Dr Aziz Ahmad M.A. Ph.D. Professor Aligarh University Aligarh

*18 Dr Rallakumud Mukerji M.A. Ph.D. F.R.S. Professor and Head of the Department of Indian History Lucknow University, Lucknow

*19 Mr J P Bruce M.A. Professor of History Punjab University, Lahore

*20 Mr Sri Ram Sharma, M.A., Professor, D. A. V. College, Lahore

- 21 Dr H R Gupta M A B T Ph D Professor Forman Christian College, Lahore
- 22 Major H K Percy Smith Honorary Librarian Society of Genealogists c/o Office of the Controller of Military Accounts Northern Command Rawalpindi
- 23 Sardar Gurbak Singh M A Lecturer in Sikh History Khalsa College Amritsar
- *24 Lila Sita Ram Kohli M A F R Hist S Principal Government Intermediate College Hoshiarpur Punjab
- 25 Mr K P Mitra M A B L Principal D J College Monghyr
- * 6 Dr Mohammad Nazim M A Ph D Superintendent Archaeological Survey of India Central Circle Patna
- 27 Dr K K Basu M A Ph D Professor of History T N J College Bhagalpur
- 28 Mr S A Shere M A Curator Patna Museum Patna
- 29 Syed Hussain Askari M A B L Professor Patna College Patna.
- 30 Mr M L Roychaudhuri M A B L P R S Shastri Professor T N J College Bhagalpur
- *31 Mr S C Goswami I S O Inspector of Schools Assam
- *32 Mr Gope R Gur Bax B A 8 Aml Colony Hyderabad Sind
- 33 Mr Y M Kale B A LL B Baulana (Berar) C P
- 34 Mr V K Deshpande M A, LL B Sharadashram Yeotmal Berar, C P
- *35 Mr H K Sherwani M A (Oxon) Bar at Law Department of History, Osmania University Hyderabad Deccan
- *36 Dr M Nizamuddin Ph D Head of the Department of Persian Osmania University Hyderabad Deccan
- *37 Rao Sahib C Hayavadani Rao, B A , B L , Editor the Mysore Economic Journal Siddicutta Bangalore
- *38 Dr K N V Sastri M A Ph D (London) F R Hist S Superintendent Intermediate College Bangalore
- 39 Mr R K Ranadive, M A , Dandri Bazar, Baroda
- 40 Dr J M Mehra M A (Oxon) Bar at Law Ph D (Lond) Commissioner of Education Baroda
- 41 Dr H Sastri M A M O L D Litt Director of Archaeology Baroda
- 42 General N G Shinde Shivabag Baroda
- 43 Professor C V Joshi M A Rajdastardar Baroda
- 44 Mr V S Wakaskar Near Maharaja Theatre Baroda
- 45 Mr K H Kamdar M A Professor of History Baroda College Baroda
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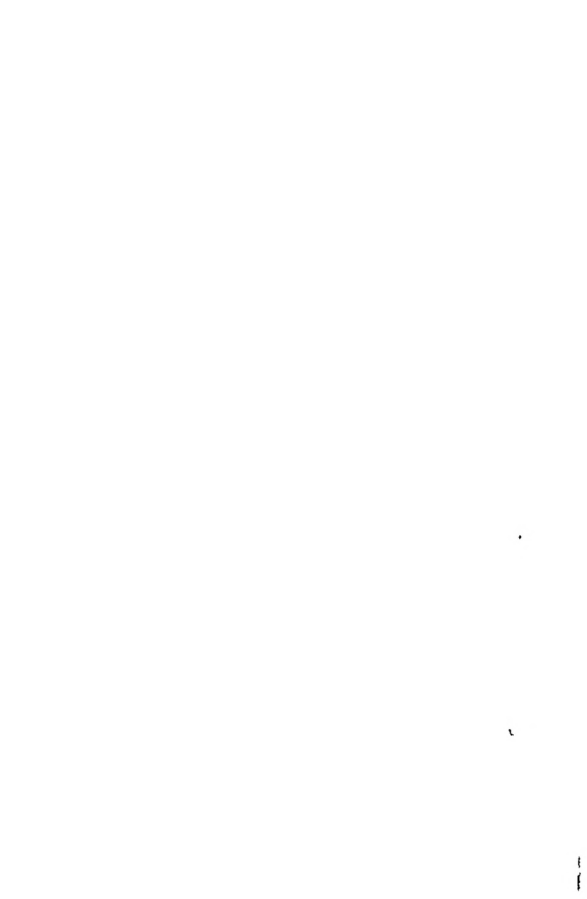
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DE BOIGNE

(By Sir Jada Nath Sarkar C. I. E., Hony. D. Litt.)

In 1938 I read a paper on General De Boigne before this commission, in which new light from Persian and Marathi sources was thrown upon the hero's Indian career, up to the time of his entering the service of Sindhiya's general Apa Khande Rao (1785). The part which he played in the battle of Tunga (1787) and during Mahadji Sindhiya's glorious fortunes till the end of the year 1788, has been described in detail in the recently published third volume of my *Fall of the Mughal Empire*. The general's victories at Patan, Merh and Lakheri are well known, and though hitherto unexplored Persian and Marathi sources greatly modify the current accounts of these battles I shall reserve a treatment of them for a different occasion. To-day I shall confine myself to the personal history of De Boigne after 1788. In the narrative that follows I have silently corrected the wrong dates in Parasnis's edition of the Hindustani despatches and the Persian Memoirs of Khair ul-din's *Ibratnamah*.

On 7th August 1791 De Boigne was presented to the Emperor at Delhi, and orders were issued granting him jagirs worth twelve lakhs of Rupees a year in Bah, Pinat, Jaksar and other jagirs (L. P.) for the support of the battalions of sepoys that he was bound to keep for Sindhiya's service.

Early in January 1792, Mahadji Sindhiya left Mewar and set out for Poona. De Boigne, who was attached to Gopal Rao Raghunath's army, then marched from Mathura northwards but after doing one day's route to Vrindavan he was compelled to make a long halt because his troops were in arrears of pay. But Gopal Rao from his headquarters near Barsana sent some money and called upon De Boigne to join him in the move on fort Kanod (30 miles west of Rewari) where another Marathi force under Lakhu Dada was besieging the rebel Ismail Beg.

This fort contained the treasure, armament and family of Najaf Quli Khan who died on the 23rd August 1791 after which event his two widows defied the summons of the Delhi Emperor to surrender it, and when a Maratha army laid siege to it they called Mirza Ismail Beg, the leader of the Mughal free-lancers in to defend it for them. Shah Alam II sent repeated orders to his Regent Mahadji Sindhiya for punishing Ismail Beg as severely as he had done Ghulam Qadir Ruhela,—the two having been associates in the sack of Delhi palace in 1788. It was therefore necessary for Ismail Beg to find a protector with sufficient influence in Sindhiya's darbar. The senior Begam of Najaf Quli who was a very warlike and masculine lady having been killed by a cannon shot and then the younger Begam finding further resistance useless met De Boigne offered him the hand of her adopted daughter Moti Begam and entreated him to save Ismail Beg from the Emperor's vengeance after she had induced Ismail to vacate Kanod fort. Two regiments of De Boigne's troops under Perron had been detached to assist Gopal Rao's army at the siege while De Boigne himself was some distance behind.

After receiving De Boigne's assurance, Ismail Beg issued from Kanod fort with only 20 horsemen and sought asylum in Perron's tents (16th April 1792). Gopal Rao to De Boigne. Four
arrison to vacate the
Mirza was lodged in

Agra Fort, with some sepoys of De Boigne to watch over and protect him.

On this day (20th April) De Boigne was betrothed to Moti Begam, the reputed daughter of Najaf Quli Khan but really a foster child of the Khan's second wife. That it was a mere betrothal is clear from the use of the phrase *namzad shuda* used

in the Persian Record, though the Marathi despatches carelessly use the same word *lagna* (marriage) both on this occasion and on 21st January 1794, when the actual marriage of De Boigne with this girl was celebrated at Delhi.

After this De Boigne gave up the junior Begam of Najaf Quli Khan all her husband's property found in Kanod and also settled three villages near Palwal on visited idly to hictive if he The

quadar on the receipt of this order, turned De Boigne's watchmen out of the fort.

After the fall of Kanod, De Boigne marched with Gopal Rao to Bahadurgarh (20 miles west of Delhi) for exacting tribute from its Baloch Nawab, Amir Ali Khan

The great victory of Lakhari, which crushed the power of Holkar for the time being, was won on 1st June 1793. For his part in this victory, Sindhia granted to De Boigne jagirs yielding 27 lacks a year, situated in Firuzabad, Hatras, Palwal and other sub divisions. The Emperor sent robes of honour and other gifts to this general and many of his officers. After this battle De Boigne remained for some time with Gopal Rao at Sultanpur (20 miles north east of Kota), while Perron's brigade with Lakhwa Dada marched in pursuit of Holkar. In the following August the general was reported as about to come back to the Agra province in order to settle and administer his extensive fiefs, after doing which he intended to go to where his wife, followers and property. On his way back from Kota, De Boigne with Daulatram Haldia the minister, promoted his interest to

4

promoted
entered
Kart
November 11th November

In this last month occurred the death of Mahadji Sindhia in far off Poona, which tempted his Maratha officers to conspire against the authority of his successor Doulat-rao Sindhia and set up for themselves. The malcontents tried to win over De Boigne and his formidable army, but the loyal Savoyard openly avowed his adhesion to

Daulatrao (about June) On 7th July, Fremont died after a long illness and his brigade passed into the command of James Gardner.

In September we read of De Boigne visiting Jaipur again and negotiating through Rodoji Khawas for the payment of that year's tribute. It was paid in October, after which he marched into Alwar and laid a contribution of four lakhs on its Rajah Bakhtawar Singh. At the end of this month, De Boigne is again reported as having fallen ill, and detaching Perron with six battalions to accompany Gopal Rao Raghunath in his stead.

For the year 1795 we have no detailed information about this General's doings and early next year (February 1796) he quitted the service of Sindhia for returning to Europe. During this interval he lived in comparative ease and domestic bliss at Aligarh, leaving all active operations to his lieutenants.

We learn of two of De Boigne's associates from Persian Ms sources Michael Filoze, "a low bred Neapolitan of worthless character, yet not without a certain address and cunning" as Herbert Compton describes him, came to Agra in June 1783 or a month earlier, in company with Johnson (both being then officers of Rene Madec's brigade which had been taken into pay by the Rana of Gohad). Their ostensible object was to hire an English force for the defence of the Rana whose fort of Gwahor was then besieged by Mahadji Sindhia. They met De Boigne who was then the guest of Major James Browne and after some consultation, passed over into the service of the Emperor. leading Boigne's

Another equally unworthy favourite of De Boigne was an English named Major Hunter*. Of him Faqir Khair ud din Allahabadi, the author of *Ibratnamah*, tells the following story —

After the battle of Merta (20th September 1790) Najaf Quli Khan tried to detach

his revelry and intimacy. Then Najaf Quli began to urge Hunter to murder De Boigne and assured him that if he could contrive the deed, Najaf Quli would undertake to pay him (Hunter) five lakhs of Rupees in cash and the chief command of his army from the Rajah of Jaipur. Major Hunter agreed, saying, 'Colonel De Boigne often comes into my tent. It is not a difficult thing to kill him.'

On the eve of the day fixed for the murder of De Boigne, Major Hunter spent all the night in the tent of Najaf Quli, drinking and enjoying the songs and dances. An hour before dawn he returned to his own tent and imparted his secret plan to his chief confidants and associates. One of these men had the nobility of mind to go and inform De Boigne. When Hunter at the usual time came to De Boigne's table for his meal, the latter plied him very much with wine and when Hunter was quite tipsy asked him about the last night's incidents. Hunter perspired with shame and in his state of wine bemusement, blurted out something of the night's talk.

So, De Boigne cast him out of his favour and placed him under arrest. The other conspirators took alarm at his face and conducted themselves properly afterwards (My Ms iii: 245).

*I cannot take this word to be the Persian copist's error for Songster, who is quite well-known.

THE GOLD CHARTER OF THE FOUNDATION OF BRITISH POWER IN INDIA.

(By Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M A, Ph D)

The East India Company came to India as a trading body, and their first factory was founded in Surat in 1609, which is about nine years after the Charter constituting the Company as a body of English merchants trading to the East Indies. Their position as a company of merchants proved to be precarious in the extreme because of a number of rival European Companies struggling for privileges of trade along with these. Of these the Dutch and the Portuguese were the most considerable rivals, the French not having established themselves securely enough to be considerable. The Dutch Company seem to have been far better placed and had very much more of the active sympathy of their government, and were able to exercise their influence with telling effect in the East. The jealousy of the Portuguese was a constant source of trouble to the British to such an extent that the condition of affairs was so bad that they were obliged to cut their trade with vigour unmolested by these enemies. The latter condition, in their actual position at the time, involved the countenance and the active support of the local authority, whatever that was. They were certainly on the look out and obtained their possession of such a locality on the Madras coast, on which came to be laid the foundation of the fort named Fort St. George, which became the first territorial possession of the English East India Company. In the course of a couple of centuries of growth, this East India Company was able to announce itself as the paramount power, and in the course of a further growth of a little over a century, the British stand forward as the imperial power controlling the destinies of India. The authority for this foundation rests upon a couple of gold charters, sometimes reckoned as three, which gave them the bit of land, their first territorial possession in India. The charters are stated to be respectively gold cowles given them by Damarla Venkata, governor of the province of Wandiwash and the principal minister of the empire of Vijayanagar, "Chancellor of the Carnatic", as some of the Company's records call him. The second gold cowle is stated to be that granted by Venkatapaturay. The third gold cowle was given by Venkata. The third

had to be produced to prove the British title, and, on such occasion, it was forwarded to Bengal where these seem to have been translated. The cowles were however sent over to Surat and were forwarded from there to Madras under the signature of the Manager of the East India Company for India. One of the cowles was lost in the sea. This is stated in a letter of the English Court in 1693. Even before that year, among the documents delivered by Governor Elihu Yale in 1687 to his successor William Gifford, only two

cowles are mentioned, Damarla Venkatapati's and Venkatapatriyālu's and not emperor Śrīranga's. So by about 1693, may be somewhat earlier, all the gold originals were gone. Copies however seem to have been preserved.

Another calamity befell the Madras records on the fall of Madras in 1746, when the French carried off all their records. After the treaty in 1749, the old grants happened to be collected and returned. But such gold plates as were contained among the records are stated not to have been returned. The available records were then collected and translated by the Brahman Papiāh the younger, who was translator from 1734 to 1746. The lists of such *firman*s and grants translated by Papiāh were delivered by him, according to an entry in the Diary and Consultation book of Fort St. George dated 1749-50, incorporating the list of the documents then delivered by Papiāh and despatched to Fort St. George dated 24th September 1750. Among these happen to be mentioned the first, the grant of Śrīrangarāyālu.—¹

"I"

1,200⁺ per Annum into the Royal Treasury and also Empowering them to Coin Pagodas there with the Stamp of the three following Images, vizt Chena Cassawa Suamy and the two Goddesses

The conditions of the Grant Strictly enjoined and recommend'd to take Care Ever, may

N B—Deva Doyam Signifies the Share of Gods or Deity's which are all the Perquisites, Allowances, Duties and other Gifts that have been or may be Appropriated for the Uses and Maintenance (sic) of the Pagodas or Churches

Bramma Doyam, Signifies the Share of Brahmans, which are all the Perquisites, Allowances, Duties and other Gifts that have been or may be Appropriated for the Maintenance of the Bramans or other Religious People

Dimmattee or Strengthening Commission from Damarla Moodu Venkatapā Naik son of Damrla Chenama Naik the Grand Visier of the aforesaid Sovereign and Lord General of Carnatica to the English Company for the Purpose beforementioned "

The extract above

we have a grants, it petual enj payment (coin pago (3) the D place has

note about the grant of Damarla Venkata. Col Love² finds fault with Papiāh for such discrepancies as he finds between this summary and the actual contents of Śrīrangarāyālu's cowle. The first error that he finds is the place called Chinnapatam. He finds the mention of Chinnapatam is not likely to be stated as Śrīranga's cowle actually refers to the grant of Śrīrangarāyālpattam called after his own name

¹ Records of Fort St. George. Diary and Consultation Book of 1749-50 pp 168 169

² Vestiges of Old Madras I 70 ff

About this Channapatam itself, Col Love is not quite clear. The actual position of Madras at the time was this. The locality did contain a town called Channapatam, a town founded in honour of Dāmarla Channamanāyaka, who was the Vijayanagar viceroy of this part, by his son Dāmarla Aiyappa, and this town must have been founded and in existence before 1639. Next adjacent to that was a village or hamlet called Madraspatam. To the south of it was to be founded the town of Śrīrangarāyalpatṭinam, as emperor Śrīrangarāya was anxious to perpetuate his name thereby. To the south of this was the site actually granted for the fort along with the waste ground which is called jackal mound, from the Tamil name *Narimēdu*, which is quite regular, and is not from Telugu *Nāri Mēdu*, as the second word is not Telugu, and I do not believe the Telugus call jackal *nāri*. The Telugu word for that is *nalka* as far as I could recollect. *Nāri* is not known in that connection. *Narimēdu* is a Tamil compound, the two words constituting it being Tamil, and means literally jackal mound.

In regard to the 2nd point, Col Love points out that the authentic grant of 1645 makes no mention of power to coin money. The next discrepancy that he finds is the town rent of 1,200 pagodas mentioned in the summary which was first fixed by Nawab Nekm Khan in 1672. He points out at the same time the contribution to be paid up to that time was only half the customs which was consolidated into an amount of 350 pagodas sometime about the year 1658. He accounts for these differences by concluding that Papiah's memory was at fault, and that he confused the details of other grants. He further notes that what is mentioned in the last paragraph as *Dimmatu*, and translated as the strengthening commissariat, was the original cowle granted by Dāmarla Venkatapātirāyalu, and mentions errors in the names of the father and the son as being due to successive copyists. Before proceeding any further about the matter, we shall have to note that neither the original plate nor any copy is available of Venkatapatirāyalu's grant. We have a good copy of the grant of Damarla Venkata, and the substance of what that grant contained is given in detail almost exactly in a letter that Greenhill wrote to the Company recommending the terms of the grant for acceptance. In all probability what Damarla Venkata wrote would be the draft terms of the promised grant, which he in consultation with the king at the time may have offered, and when the royal grant was actually made, it certainly would be a copy of this ordinarily. It is just possible there may have been additions, and even slight alterations. In the absence of any positive knowledge from other sources of any such change, it would be safe to assume that Venkatapatirāyalu's cowle was just a copy of the minister's draft. The errors referred to in the names it is difficult to understand. They seem to be more or less Col Love's own creation. As it is put in the document quoted by him from the record itself, the name of the minister is given as Damarla Moodu Venkatappa Nayak, son of Dāmarla Chennamanāyak, described as the grand vizier of the aforesaid sovereign and the Lord General of the Carnatic. The actual name of the Nayak was Muddu Venkata or Venkala, the terminal simply being an honorific. In Telugu Venkatappa takes on the alternative form Venkalappa, though it is not quite usually, the more usual form being Vengalappa. Damarla, we have explained elsewhere,¹ is the Teluguised name of Damal from which this Venkata came. The name of his father was certainly Channamanāyaka, the word *Channa* meaning in Kanarese "beautiful", and that has been altogether misunderstood in various places by Col Love by writing

Channamanāyak is also popularly called Channappa. He was viceroy of these parts under emperor Venkatapurīyālu, who ruled at the commencement of the

Damarla So that removes altogether one serious error fathered upon Papiah. He does not mention the draft here as he speaks of only the royal charters in the first paragraph. From the way that it is mentioned in the singular, we cannot say which royal charter it is, whether it is the royal charter issued by Venkatapurīyālu, or the one issued by Śrīranga. But since he does mention here that it was granted by Śrīrangarāyālu, we have to take it that he is referring here to the charter of Śrīranga, and not that of his predecessor Venkata. Are we therefore to convict him
 of other docu
 a big list of
 perhaps 1741

sunnad from Amwar Hasan Gulshan and the endorsement says that these were received by peons from Fort St David on the 21st September 1750. It would certainly not be improbable if Papiah took the whole series of royal charters as described in other grants, and given a summary of the whole, incorporating in the summary all the privileges enjoyed by the Company and founded on authority. It seems very probable that he did so. As regards his mention of Channapatam, Channapatam is certainly the oldest town. Damarla Aiyappa's original letter of invitation begins with a reference to his founding a town in his father's name and asking if the Company would care to come and make a settlement there. Col Love's remark that Śrīranga could hardly mention that place in 1645 arises from his own error of equating Channapatam with
 of Śrīranga's charter, good copy of
 Channapatam to the south of which
 to the south of which was the hamlet where the fort was to be constructed and the

of coining money remain. The right to coin money is found mentioned in Venkatapurīyālu's charter granted some years earlier than Śrīranga's. The town rent of 1200 pagodas certainly must have been taken from a later document either Neknam Khan's or somebody else's. Śrīrangarāyālu's charter was the gold cowle, and it was not intended to supersede the previous charter, while the new charter may contain additional privileges, the privileges ordinarily granted would normally have to be assumed as of old.

The right to coin was a matter of
 tainties of exchange
 ed to be the so-called

would have been better for internal trade to have country coinage and hence in a record of date 10th November 1661 a complaint is made that rivals of eight and silver coins were generally in low esteem¹ and the rate of exchange was no disadvantageous. So the anxiety of the Company to secure the power of coinage in gold of the local variety would be perfectly natural. The popular current coinage happened to be that of Vijayanagar the standard coin being the gold pagoda of which the older type generally displays the figure of Vishnu either alone or with his two consorts. There were other varieties of this coinage. Even when Golkonda came into authority in this region they maintained the same Vijayanagar coinage which passed current. It would be nothing strange therefore if the Company continued that coinage. Papiah's statement however makes it a little more specific that the coin was to contain the images of Channakesava and his two consorts. Channakesava is certainly one form of Vishnu and the two consorts would normally be Sri the goddess of wealth and Bhru or Bhumi the goddess of earth. These two usually form the pair of consorts. For Madras this would perhaps imply a local colour as the main temple was a temple to Channakesavaswami though as in several similar cases a temple to Channa Mallikeswara a swa image was also installed in the a footing so that the shrine
 would be a in its new location. Where
 exactly Pap is just possible that it was
 found in a document which settled these details some time when the question came up. So Papiah's note makes that point clear.

The temple² unfortunately has had to shift its place and found new accommodation where it is at present. Comparatively recently documents were found in connection with this temple which throw some light upon its history. These documents date as early as in 1646 and 1648 both of them endowments to the temple in favour of Brahman called Narayanappayar or more simply Narayana Aiyar. The earlier document is by one Naga Bathudu in Telugu written in full it would mean Naga Pattudu the latter word being the Telugu form of the Tamil *Pattan*, a general designation of the artisan class the blacksmiths goldsmiths etc. The later document is a gift by one Beri Timmanan. This latter claims to have built the Channakesava temple and endowed it with *manyam* or free gift land which he transferred to the Brahman for the purpose of the divine services to the temple. The somewhat enigmatic English name Capt Moore is taken to be the modification of the name of San Thome prior of San Thome. to the agent of the
 which fore the date 1648
 Comp¹
 the date of Timmanan's grant the date 1648
 High Court now stands and has
 quently transferred to the present
 ence to the coinage in the details given seem more or less to be founded on authority.

In regard to the third point the question of the town rent of 1200 pagodas per annum it is no doubt true that in that form specifically it was set down in Neknam Khan's grant of 1672. It could not have been thought of without any hty seems
from the
haps sets
 it down at that estimated value without making it a specifically mentioned item of the document. In the original document of Venkatapati there is mention of

¹ O. C. No. 2579 of 10th November 1656. Love I 194

² *Ibid* Vol I Ch VI pp 92-96

half the customs. There were other revenues also mentioned, and among the revenue items of Madraspatam of which one half was to be retained by the Com-

ground for regarding this summary of Papiah being particularly at fault. Papiah what, npany, stated settle-

ment arrived at so that on the whole we may take it that Papiah's summary is—perhaps as his actual intention was—a summary statement of the position of the East India Company in relation to Madraspatam. That would be the position of the Company just about a century after the original grant of D3marla Venkata's document of 1639.

It now becomes clear that the English Company's title to the possession of Madras rests upon the two gold cowles of the three, of which we have at present only reliable copies. Of course, the conditions contained in the cowles received possibly explanatory additions and clarifying statement of intentions from time to time so that just about a century after when a crisis in the position of Madras did come the title of the Company actually amounted to what is stated in summary by Papiah. The two documents the authentic copies of the cowles will be found in the English Factories in India, 1637 1641 and 1642, 1645, and the Journal of Indian History, volume XVIII, part 1.²

¹ Greenhill's letter to the Company, dated October 25th 1639 —(O C 1718)

² The English Factories in India 1637 1641, pp 156 158

Do 1642 1645 pp 305 306

Journal of Indian History, Vol XVIII pt 1 pp 16 17 and 26

The Amani System of Land Revenue Administration in Madras

[By Dr B S Baliga M A Ph D]

The idea of reviving and preserving such of the indigenous institutions as promised to prove beneficial to the country was by no means foreign to the genius of early British administration. A series of conspicuous instances can be adduced to illustrate this view: the panchayat system, the system of village watch and ward and of the collector magistracy, the amani system, the farm n system, the rann system, the mit system, the village lease and the ryotwar system. This paper however seeks to throw light only on the amani system, the system of collecting land revenue in kind as it prevailed in certain parts of the Madras Presidency, its advantages, its working and its disadvantages which ultimately led to its abolition and supersession by the ryotwar system.

There can be little doubt that when the East India Company began to acquire territories first the Jageer¹ (1763-1765) and the Northern Circars² (1765) and then the Carnatic³ (1801) they followed the amani system wherever it was found to exist. In portions of the havalis of the Northern Circars⁴ and of the districts of Nellore⁵, Ganjam,⁶ Guntur⁷, Chingleput⁸, Tinnevely⁹ and Tanjore¹⁰ it was often resorted to in the nunja (wet) lands and sometimes in the punja (dry) lands also. And that was because in those early days of the Company's administration it seemed to hold out a number of advantages to the state as well as to the ryots. In those days which had succeeded almost half a century of warfare, unrest and depredations the ryots had been

¹ Aitchison's Treaties Vol. VIII pages 15-22

² Idem pages 278-279

³ Aitchison's Treaties Vol. VIII pages 56-61

⁴ Circuit Committee Proceedings (Printed) 12th September 1784 pages 1, 11, 14, 23 and 33 *et seq*

⁵ Nellore District Manual 1873 pages 475-477

⁶ Ganjam District Manual page 221 Circuit Committee Report on Ganjam (Printed) dated 25th April 1788 para 621, *et seq*

⁷ Board's Proceedings (B P) dated 25th January 1790 Nos 9, 10

B P dated 15th February 1790 Nos 3, 4

B P dated 18th February 1790 No 7

B P dated 21st January 1796 Nos 10, 11

⁸ Chingleput district volume 444 page 444

Chingleput district volume 454 page 55

Chingleput district volume 467 page 20

Chingleput district volume 3849 page 30

⁹ B P dated 29th December 1803

B P dated 3rd January 1804 No 12

B P dated 24th June 1805 Nos 41, 42

B P dated 24th February 1806 Nos 9, 10

Hodgeon's Report on Tinnevely (Printed) 1807

Tinnevely district volume 3568 (1808) page 289 *et seq*

¹⁰ Board of Assumed Revenue for Tanjore (1792) Volume III p 111 *et seq*

Report of the Tanjore Commission (Printed) 1799 pp 2-5, 12, 19-21, 26 *et seq*

B P dated 10th April 1800 Nos 22, 23

B P dated 17th April 1800 No 1

B P dated 18th January 1801 Nos 21, 22

B P dated 23rd May 1803 Nos 40, 41

B P dated 26th May 1803 No 35

reduced to distress and large tracts of land left untilled and neglected. Where cultivation had been carried on the information of the real extent of it had been withheld from the Government under the gross connivance of the public officers. The zamindars and renters in the Northern Circars, the mirasidars, the puttackdars and other intermediaries between the state and the cultivators in the Central and Southern districts had by collusion bribery and intimidation effectually withheld from the Government all information about the actual resources of the country and the condition of the cultivators.¹ First and foremost it was this vital information which the amani system seemed to furnish. Under that system it was supposed that the resources of the country could be ascertained through the aid of circar servants who inspected the crop at its growth, estimated the produce, and divided it and in performing these duties came into intimate contact with the agricultural conditions of the country. It was likewise supposed that under that system the Government could always be sure of obtaining half or any other fixed proportion of the produce whether the crop was scanty or abundant.² Moreover, in those days to collect revenue in money was difficult when specie was scarce when large exports of commodities and returns in money were unknown.³ The same circumstance also relieved the ryots from the necessity of borrowing at extortionate rates of interest and from the dread of being called upon to pay the rent when the crop had entirely failed.⁴ Indeed in some districts where the crops were precarious where cultivation was at the mercy of flood and drought where artificial irrigation had not been perfected where good and bad seasons came in quick succession where the authority in power could fix the price of grain and prohibit importation or exportation the security of the ryots in a great measure lay in the amani system in which they and the Government justly shared the risks.⁵ What is more, the ryots had grown long accustomed to that system under the Hindu rulers and, wherever it had been replaced by the Muhammadan rulers, had been subjected to so many oppressions and exactions so many onerous extra demands for money over and above the stipulated jumra that they had been led to view the money rents in whatever forms they were levied always with suspicion.

¹ Appendix 14 of the Fifth Report

Report of the Tanjore Commissioner 1789 (Printed) p 12

B P dated 10th April 1800 Nos 22-23

B P dated 14th April 1800 No 8

B P Volume 393 Harris's Report dated 9th May 1804 para 78

² Gleig's Life of Munro Vol II (1831) page 102 *et seq*

³ Circuit Committee Proceedings dated 12th September 1784 (Printed) page 1

Circuit Committee Report on Coimbatore dated 11th October 1784 (Printed) page 6

⁴ B P dated 6th July 1801 Nos 40-41

Gleig's Life of Munro (1831) Vol II pp 12-30

Coimbatore District Manual pages 93-95

⁵ B P dated 14th July 1803 Nos 29-30

B P dated 15th August 1803 No 63

B P dated 2nd July 1810 Nos 23-25

B P dated 25th June 1810 Nos 29-31

B P dated 15th November 1819 No 47

B P dated 30th March 1820 Nos 36-37

B P dated 24th August 1820 Nos 23-24

Tanjore Commission Report dated 7th May 1807 Nos 910 para 75 p 17-19

Hodgeson's Report on Tinnevely, 1807 pages 5-6

and sometimes with lateral and fear.¹ This dual nature of the benefits which the amani system seemed to confer both on the state and on the ryots guaranteed its continuance until its efficacy was fully disproved by experience. But it is well that we do not anticipate the lessons of experience before learning the rudiments of the system itself as it worked in at least a few districts.

In Tanjore, where, on the abolition of the pottachdani system the amani system was revived by the British in 1800 and continued till 1801, it worked as follows. Previous to the commencement of reaping and almost immediately before the grain was ripe the mungars (village headmen) and taluk parishkars (subordinate revenue officers) made a general estimate of the produce of the crops in the various villages by a close inspection of the state of the crop in each field. These estimates were scrutinised by the Tahsildars, modified or altered if necessary and transmitted to the Collector's cutcherry. When the harvest was got in the accounts of the actual quantity of grain produced were likewise forwarded by the mungar to the Tahsildar and by the Tahsildar to the Collector. The estimated produce was then compared with the actual produce and in the event of any material difference between the two the ryots were held responsible for it. Out of the actual produce were first deducted the cooly swatantrams which consisted of allowances to the men who reaped and threshed to the women who planted and performed other labour to the village cavalgar (watchman) conicoply (accountant) washerman and barber. These being in the nature of daily wages were issued on the threshing floor itself as soon as the grain was reaped. Towards the evening a lot of labourers would bring in and heap the grain which they had reaped and threshed during the day. After 100 kalams were measured off from the heap the cooly swatantrams at a fixed rate would be taken from the remainder. This process would be repeated until the heap was exhausted. When the harvest of the village was completed the quantity thus stocked, clear of cooly swatantrams was regarded as the gross produce and an account of it was transmitted to the cutcherry to be recorded. From the gross produce were then deducted certain allowances as kail manams (temple inams) cavalgars' allowances and swatantrams to the carpenters, smiths and measurers and the remainder was regarded as the net produce. In the nungri land the ryots share the kudivaram fixed at 40 per cent of the net produce and in the punja land at

¹ Circuit Committee Proceedings 12th September 1784 p 1
Circuit Committee Report on Nuzul and Charnahal dated 9th February 1786
(Printed) page 4
Circuit Committee Report on Cassimcotta 11th October 1784 p 6
Hollies's Report on Linnelly 1807 pages 10 11
B P dated 11th February 1788 No 14
B P dated 22nd March 1790 No 17
B P dated 27th April 1797 No 1
B P dated 2nd July 1810 Nos 23-25
B P dated 17th September 1810 Nos 37 38
B P dated 9th April 1818 Nos 38 39
B P dated 15th November 1819 No 47
B P dated 30th March 1820 Nos 36 37
B P dated 14th February 1783 Nos 6 7
B P dated 24th April 1797 Nos 7 8
B P dated 5th April 1810 No 40 41
B P dated 25th June 1810 Nos 29-31
B P dated 27th September 1810 No 41
B P dated 19th July 1819 Nos 34 35
B P dated 13th January 1820 Nos 36 37
B P dated 21st January 1823 Nos 46 47

55 per cent so that the Circars share the melkaram was fixed at 60 per cent in the former and 50 per cent in the latter. The Circars share so derived was stored in public granaries under the supervision of village officers and sold by them as ordered by the Collector either to the ryots or to the merchants whenever the market promised to be favourable.¹

A system similar in essentials but differing somewhat in details was tried in Tinnevely in 1801—1807 in Nellore in 1825 and in parts of the Northern Circars from the time of their acquisition till about 1840. In Tinnevely the punja land alone were managed under amani system the melkaram being fixed at 50 per cent while the punja lands were assessed at money rents. Here of the two important crops the car and the peshanum the Circars share of the former was sold to the merchants but of the latter two fifths were forced according to custom on the ryots themselves at the prevailing market price.² In Nellore an elaborate system was employed for checking estimates. The estimates of the standing crops first taken by the parabutties (village headmen) were checked by Tahsildars Muzumdars and jeshkars which again were verified by some respectable persons and others who waited at the huzur for employment. And if any doubt arose as to the accuracy of any of these three estimates the Collectors sent kupoos (village headmen) and karnams (village accountants) to check them again. The Circars share calculated at 40 per cent on the mitta and maguny crops and 60 per cent on the moolamoo crops was then valued and wherever possible forced on the ryots themselves.³ In the Northern Circars the Amin personally went round the villages inspected the karnams accounts of the extent and probable value of produce and granted cowles to the ryots specifying their customary share. When the grain was fit for reaping he reported the fact to the Foujdar who forthwith sent anchanadars or estimators to value the crops before they could perish or be concealed or sold. On receiving the anchanadars accounts the Amin took another account of the valuation from the ryots themselves and in case the two accounts did not agree he employed a trustworthy person to make a third valuation. If this also differed from the previous accounts he settled the difference at the mean value at which the ryots generally agreed and gave their written consent to him. The ryots agreement and the three accounts he then sent to the Foujdar who directed them to be entered in the Muzumdar's books and ordered the Amins to cut the crops. The Circars

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- 1 B P dated 7th August 1800
 B P dated 15th November 1800
 B P dated 26th May 1803 No 35
 B P dated 15th August 1803 No 63
 B P dated 27th September 1804 Nos 89
 B P dated 14th August 1800
 B P dated 15th January 1801 Nos 12
 B P dated 30th May 1803 No 4
 B P dated 7th May 1807 Nos 910
 B P dated 19th January 1801 Nos 21 22

- * Hodgeson's Report on Tinnevely 1807 page 7
 Tinnevely District Volume 1808 No 3568 page 289
 Idem 1809 No 3585 page 29 et seq
 Idem 1808 No 3583 page 56
 Idem 1809 No 3570 page 256 para 6
 B P dated 24th June 1805 Nos 41 42 paras 13—19

- * Nellore District Volume 1825 No 3112 page 340 paras 22—24

share which varied from half to two thirds was then stored in public granaries and disposed of by the Amins¹

This system which in theory seems to possess no serious drawbacks was in actual practice found to be imbued with innumerable evils. A glance at its salient features would show that it demanded a big staff for performing the various periodical processes a preliminary inspection of the crop on the ground a second third or even a fourth inspection by taluk and huzur officers a special inspection at the time of harvest and division storage and disposal of the grain. Leaving alone the taluk and huzur officers it called for the aid of a number of Amins a large number of monigars peishkars and anchanadars and a whole host of hircarrahs (messengers) and village watchmen. All this meant an extensive establishment which swelled the charges of collections²

Nor was this large expensive imposing machinery controllable and proof against fraud and corruption. The Collectors often reported that this large staff of ill paid subordinates could not be effectually controlled by a few district officers. The labour involved in supervising the details of their work was enormous and required most of the time and extraordinary exertions of the Collector and his Assistants. There was in fact no way by which this supervision could be relaxed or avoided for even when it was enforced with honest zeal there were innumerable ways by which the subordinate servants could resort to dishonest practices. Almost from the very beginning of the establishment of the amani system the Board of Revenue and the Government were apprised of the frauds on the part of estimators measurers and other Circar servants³. But these were at first regarded as small fry until in 1804 they were revealed in all their enormity by a Commission which was appointed to enquire into the abuses practised in Tanjore⁴. The Commission revealed a whole chain of frauds of a most daring magnitude extending from the Huzur to the village cutcherry. The Huzur officers pressed the Tahsildars the Tahsildars and the village officers pressed the mirasidars and the cultivators for illegal demands, and the result was after much recrimination and mutual discussion all combined to defraud the Circar of the just portion of its share of produce. By underestimating the crops concealing them and entering the fully assessed lands under the rent free lands within three years in fash 1211 1212 and 1213 (i.e. 1801—1803) the state was defrauded of over 12 lakhs of rupees⁵. Many an ingenious device was employed in disguise deceit until it became exceedingly difficult of detection and punishment. Want of space however forbids us to describe them. Suffice it to remark that corrupt practices in estimating threshing dividing storing and selling the grain were

¹ Circuit Committee Proceedings dated 12th September 1784 pp 1 11 14 33 et seq
Circuit Committee Report on Cassimcotta dated 11th October 1784 pages 2 6 34
et seq

B P dated 7th April 1788 Nos 7 8

B P dated 9th February 1789 Nos 3-4

B P dated 5th May 1794 Nos 16 17

B P dated 25th August 1794 Nos 20 21

B P dated 15th February 1790 Nos 3-4

² Chingleput District Volume 1809 No 3570 page 256 et seq
Tinnevely District Volume 1808 No 3583 page 56 et seq

³ 2 B P dated 5th February 1789 Nos 3-4

B P dated 15th February 1790 Nos 3-4

B P dated 31st January 1804 No 12

⁴ B P dated 27th September 1804 Nos 8 9

B P dated 27th September 1804 Nos 8 9 paras 16—22 33 37 65 66 71 84 85
of the Commissioner's Report

frequently reported from Tinnevely, Chingleput and other amani districts¹ the system, indeed, not only defrauded the state but demoralised the entire revenue establishment

These drawbacks of the amani system were grave enough but graver than these were others of a different complexion. That system perpetuated constant interference of the Circar servants in the daily concerns of the ryots and thus provided many opportunities for oppressions and evictions. The Government was perfectly aware of this, but they could not relax this interference without foregoing a big slice of their revenue. They were indeed placed in a quandary in which it was difficult to decide whether to uphold or not to uphold this interference². That system, again in spite of this interference, in spite of the most detailed supervision of the Collectors brought much loss to the state owing to wastage in storage and uncertainty in realising the proceeds of the sale of the Circar share of grain. Large arrears accumulated and necessitated the prosecution of a number of merchants in the courts of law³. That system indeed made the annual income of the state quite uncertain. What with the embezzlement of the Circar servants, with the thefts with the wastage in storage and the difficulty in selling the public grain and after having sold it in realising in time the proceeds of the sales the Government could never be sure of any settled income. This inevitably made the balancing of the budget quite impossible a very necessary consideration for adopting any revenue system in the modern period. And this it was which was more than anything else responsible for the increasing preference shown to the system of money rents for the displacement of the amani system by the ryotwar system.

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- ¹ Tinnevely District Volume 4354 page 278 paras 35 36
 Chingleput District Volume 1899 No 467 page 20 paras 2 3 7 8
 B P dated 30th March 1820 Nos 36 37
 B P dated 24th August 1820 Nos 23 24
 B P dated 7th September 1820 Nos 31 32
 B P dated 23rd October 1820 Nos 27 29
 B P dated 2nd February 1837 Nos 8 9
² B P dated 5th May 1794 Nos 16 17
 B P dated 25th August 1794 Nos 20 21
 B P dated 10th April 1800 Nos 2 3
 B P dated 19th January 1801 Nos 21 22
 B P dated 27th September 1804 Nos 8 9
 B P dated 29th March 1804 Nos 15 16
 B P dated 2nd April 1804 No 5
 B P dated 30th April 1804 Nos 36 37
 B P dated 31st May 1810 Nos 31 32
 B P dated 15th November 1819 Nos 4 7
 B P dated 30th March 1820 Nos 36 37
 Tinnevely District Volume (1808) No 3583 page 56
 Idem (1809) 3570 page 256
 Idem (1809) 3585 page 29
 Chingleput District Volume (1819) No 467 page 20
 Godavari District Volume No 913 page 667
 Nellore District Volume No 3112 page 340
³ Tinnevely District Volume (1821 26) No 4364 p 278
 B P dated 14th February 1788 Nos 6 7
 B P dated 5th May 1794 Nos 16 17
 B P dated 16th October 1794 No 9
 B P dated 14th January 1808 Nos 27 28
 B P dated 2nd February 1837 Nos 8 9
 Godavari District Volume 1795 No 916 page 112
 Tinnevely District Volume 1809 No 3570 page 256

Viewed from other angles also the Amam system showed several undesirable features. It called for the constant interference of the Circar for regulating the grain market, for arbitrarily fixing the price of grain and prohibiting importation so that the Circar share might be sold at an advantage¹. Thus in Tinnevely, the lateness of the season at which the peshanam settlement was concluded and the early arrival of the carr settlement left the ryots but a very short time, in which to get their portion of the produce disposed of, and their whole grain coming at once into the market caused a glut for a time which obliged them to sell it generally at a disadvantage. As soon however as the effects of this had ceased, the Circar granaries were thrown open and the grain sold to the people at a higher price than that obtained by the ryots, as by that time the Circar had all the grain of the country in its hands and could dictate prices to secure as much profit as possible. This necessity to convert "the character of the sovereign to that of the merchant, to monopolise the food of the people to secure its revenue" was highly distasteful to the British inspired as they were by the doctrine of *laissez faire* and accustomed to dislike state interference into matters which should be left to be managed by the people themselves². And finally, it became increasingly clear in the light of experience that under the amam system it was impossible to increase the resources of the country. For, so long as it made the Government a sure partner in the profits resulting from increased produce brought about by the improvements effected by the ryots it held out no encouragement to industry. "A district which in a strict sense is entirely managed by Amam must ever in my opinion be a poor country", observed one of the Collectors³. It fostered indolence and worse than that prompted the ryots deliberately to neglect cultivation and even to destroy the crops so that the Circar might underestimate their lands⁴. The crop we are told was destroyed wholesale in the transplanting season either by overflowing the fields with water or keeping them dry either by planting too near or too far from one another, or if these contrivances failed, by withholding water to the plants when they were half grown⁵.

¹B P dated 5th May 1794 Nos 16 17

B P dated 26th June 1794 No 8

B P dated 25th August 1794 Nos 20 21

B P dated 13th October 1794 Nos 11 12

B P dated 16th October 1794 No 9

B P dated 10th April 1800 Nos 22 23

B P dated 31st May 1810 Nos 31 32

B P dated 15th November 1819 No 47

B P dated 3rd January 1828 Nos 71 72

Godavari District Volume (1796) No 916, page 151

²Tinnevely District Volume (1808) No 3583 page 56 et seq.

Tinnevely District Volume (1809) No 3570, page 256

Idem (1809) No 3585 p 29

Hodgeson's Report on Tinnevely, 1807 page 19

B P dated 27th September 1804 Nos 8-9, para 76 of Harris's Report

B P dated 9th April 1818 Nos 38 39

B P dated 15th April 1818 No 47

³B P dated 5th May 1794 Nos 16 17

⁴B P dated 25th June 1830 Nos 29 30

B P dated 9th April 1818 Nos 38-39

B P dated 24th August 1820 Nos 23-24

Tinnevely District Volume (1808), No 3583, p 56

Idem (1809), No 3570, p 256

⁵B P dated 21st January 1828, Nos 46 47, paras 30-35

These serious objections gradually impelled the Government to discredit the amani system and ultimately to abandon it. Wherever that system showed its dangerous symptoms, it was displaced first by the village lease, and then by the ryotwar system. But this was no easy task. It had to be done in the teeth of much opposition from the people who viewed with alarm the disappearance of a system which had brought them specious and illegal benefits. The colossal frauds exposed by the Tanjore Commission in 1804, and detected also subsequently, compelled the Government to issue a proclamation in 1810 declaring in unmistakable terms that "the practice which has of late prevailed in Tanjore of the amani division of the crop with the mirasidars who refused to rent their lands is hereby abolished and is not, on any account to be resorted to."¹ Notwithstanding this proclamation and the endeavours of the Collectors of Tanjore and other districts to displace it by a system of money rents the amani system took "an unconscionable time adying." In 1837 we find that it partially prevailed in Ganjam, Vizagapatam, Masulipatam, Guntur, Chingleput, Coimbatore, Tanjore and Trichinopoly. In all these districts, however, it had been vastly reduced in extent and was confined only to a few villages.² In 1839 the Court of Directors finally rang its knell, they ordered its abolition and substitution by systems of money rents.³ From this time onwards very few references to the amani system are to be found in the records. It must be remembered that the introduction of the system of modern survey and settlement in 1855 left it no chance of survival in any of the districts directly administered by the British in the Madras Presidency.

¹ B P dated 17th September 1810 Nos 37-38

B P dated 20th September 1810 No 6

B P dated 20th September 1810 No 7

B P dated 11th October 1810 No 6

B P dated 27th September 1810 No 41

B P dated 21st January 1828 Nos 46-47

² B P dated 2nd February 1837 Nos 8-9

B P dated 2nd February 1837 No 10

B P dated 9th March 1837 Nos 10-14

B P dated 27th March 1837 Nos 41-44

B P dated 30th March 1837 Nos 35-37

B P dated 6th April 1837, Nos 7-10

³ B P dated 21st October 1839 Nos 2-3

B P dated 21st January 1828 Nos 46-47

B P dated 21st January 1828 Nos 46-47

B P dated 9th March 1837 Nos 10-14

B P dated 27th March 1837 Nos 41-44

B P dated 30th March 1837, Nos 35-37

B P dated 29th December 1803

COMMITTEE OF RECORDS IN EARLY 19TH CENTURY.

(By Mr. B. B. Chakrabarti, B.A., B.L.)

There is a series of very useful records relating to land and land tenure, the existence of which is not, perhaps, widely known and as such they are rarely producing object,

The Court of Directors in their Revenue despatch, dated the 15th January 1819, pointed out the necessity of taking early and decisive measure "with a view to ascertaining and securing the rights and interests of various classes connected with the land" and instructed the Governor General in Council "to consider the expediency of establishing a General Record Office at the Presidency in which a digest of all information collected and transactions recorded by Patwaris and Canongoes shall be formed and preserved" This subject was taken up for consideration by the Governor General in Council in their Revenue Department proceedings dated the 17th March, 1820, in which they observed that "the report recently received from the Board of Revenue abundantly shows that too little attention has been paid to the preparation and preservation of proper records in the offices of several Collectors" for which the interest of Government and still more those of individuals are liable to seriously suffer It was fully realised that "without indeed accurate registers of landed property and some authentic record of the extent and limits of estates of the tenures under which land is occupied, and of the rights, interests and privileges of

mining on the propriety of any general rules, which may be proposed to adopt, and the modification which the local peculiarities of particular district may require"

For the full attainment of the object in view it seemed necessary "to adopt some more comprehensive and systematic arrangement so that the accuracy and completeness of the public records in the several districts may not depend on the care and exertions of an individual officer; and that the information which they contain of a general nature may be so concentrated, digested and arranged, as to be readily available for use in consideration of questions of general importance and interest" It was also realised that a "task of checking the information derived the Presidency and that in the administration require much more detailed information utility of an office of record at the Presidency must indeed chiefly depend on the accuracy and regularity with which the records in each district are prepared and preserved".

As the objects with which Government desired to possess accurate records of landed tenures and property were chiefly such as had reference to the easy and prompt distribution of civil justice and security of the rights and interests of individuals as well as of their own, it seemed highly desirable that Government should avail themselves of the services of their officers in the Judicial and Revenue branches in order to determine the nature and extent of the information to be required from Mofussil officers of Account and the mode in which it is to be recorded and preserved at the Sudder office of the district and at the Presidency.

It was accordingly resolved that in order to secure the regular and systematic

at the head stations of the Court of Circuit, the senior Judge of that Court shall be also a Member of the Committee

It was also resolved that a general record office should be established at the Presidency in which lists of all papers which may be of sufficient importance to deserve preservation in District Record Offices, abstracts made in English of those which may be considered to be highly useful and authentic copies of the most important ones should be deposited. For the superintendence of this Head Record

mittee at the Presidency consisting of the —

- (1) Junior Member of the Board of Revenue ,
- (2) Fourth Judge of the Court of Sudder Dewani Adalat ,
- (3) Secretary to Government in the Judicial Department ,
- (4) Secretary to Government in the Territorial Department, and
- (5) Superintendent and Remembrancer of Legal Affairs

The 5th Member of the Committee was to perform the duties of the Secretary

As the immediate purpose of this arrangement was to secure the preparation and preservation of proper records and registers relating to landed property, tenures and rates of rent, " in the first instance labours of the Committees will be directed to the object of ascertaining what records connected with these matters are in existence, and of having proper accounts taken and lists made of them, they will then proceed to consider and suggest the measure to be adopted for preserving public records, (including the construction of proper buildings where they may not already exist

ries to the records of the courts and Collectors of the several stations. An early object for consideration of the Committees will be to determine the nature and extent of the information to be required from the Canongoes and Patwaries, and in ted in an especial man-

It was also contemplated that " it ought ultimately to be made a part of the duties belonging to the Presidency Committee, gradually to collect and digest in the shape of memoirs and reports, all information of a general description relative to the nature of landed tenures the structure of village institutions and the agricultural economy of various parts of the country. That Committee may, likewise, be very on to administer and the object of the laws which it is their duty to enforce "

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what records and lists they have, how far they may be relied on, what is the condition of records whether in English or in native languages from the earliest period upto the present time. They were to attend to all requisitions and orders which they may receive from the Presidency Committee and to furnish them with any information which they may require. They were to submit their suggestions to the Presidency Committee as may occur to them best calculated to supply the deficiencies of records, to facilitate the ascertainment of all points and to secure the early adjustment of a systematic plan of general record and registry."

The Presidency Committee in their Minute, dated the 6th August, 1820, submitted their
Government
Registers of M
registers containing the following heads —

elected by
General
subsidiary

(1)

The Committees pursued the work of preparation and preservation of records on the above line for a period of nine years when the Governor General in Council in their Territorial Financial Department proceedings dated the 10th October, 1828 decided to appoint two Committees one civil and the other Military, each consisting of 3 Members, one from each of the Presidencies, specially authorised and required

of suggesting such alterations as may appear calculated to secure to the utmost practicable extent unity, efficiency and economy in the general management of public affairs."

In pursuance of the recommendations of the aforesaid Finance Committee the Vice President in Council in their Financial Department proceedings dated the 17th March, 1829 decided to abolish the Presidency Committee of Records and to discharge the establishment connected therewith with effect from 1st April 1829. It was also resolved that the apartments over the General Treasury hitherto appropriated to the above establishment shall be occupied by the officers of the Chief Secretary's establishment who in addition to the records in that office will receive charge of all the papers and records belonging to the office of the Presidency Committee of Records, as well as of such printed works and other books of public records of General, Secret, Political, Judicial, Territorial and Persian Departments which may conveniently be transferred for the purpose of being deposited there.

For the control and preservation of these records it was decided that the officers of the Chief Secretary's establishment will in all matters connected with that office be exclusively under the orders and control of the Chief Secretary, but in regard to the General Depot of records of which they are to have the charge they are to be considered as subject to the control and authority of the Secretary of Government in the Territorial Department. In order to keep those records in good preservation

and free from ravages of insects the following addition to the establishment at an aggregate monthly expense of Rs 18 was authorised —

	Rs.
1 Daftari	8
1 Daftari	6
1 Farash	4
	<hr/>
	18
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This was the beginning of a General Record office containing records of several Departments of the Secretariat

The Presidency Committee of Records came to an end but a large number of records of that body, though not complete, is still available in the Bengal Historical Record Room. As these records were compiled under the direction and superintendence of a Committee consisting of a Member of the Board of Revenue, a Judge of the Sadar Diwani Adalat, Secretaries to Government in the Territorial and Judicial Departments and Superintendent and Remembrancer of Legal Affairs, collecting all informations from the records of Sadar Dewani Adalat, several Revenue Boards, offices of Secretaries to Government, Revenue Accountant and as well as from Dis

administration of Justice so far as land and land tenure was concerned there is perhaps no question of their utility. They are likely to throw considerable light on land and land revenue system from early British period upto the first quarter of the 19th century and may be of great help to students making research on the subjects.

Though the Committee apparently rendered very useful service for a period of nine years, yet it had to fall a - State expenditure. The fate of such work has, at all times, been torical value yet proper attention could not be paid to it in the past as well as at present on financial grounds.

THE FIRST INDIAN COURTIERS OF THE FRENCH EAST INDIA COMPANY.

(By Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari, M. A.)

INTRODUCTORY

The family of Lazare de Motta, *alias* Thanappa Mudaliar, who was the first Dubash and Courtier of the French at Pondicherry is now represented by Monsieur Gnanou Diagou, and *ancien bâtonnier de l'ordre des avocats*, Pondicherry, who was

and relation and lastly Pedro Kanalarasa Mudaliar, the son of Mth yappa and the predecessor of Pillai's uncle, Namiya Pilla, the Chevalier Guruvappa, were deemed to

and made available in English now

I

Thanappa Mudaliar was a Vellála of the Ahambadiya caste and a native of Poonamalle, near Madras. He met the Abbe Carre who had accompanied the Dutchman, Caron, who was the Director General of the French Company and had been sent to start activities in India by the King of France. The Abbe first arrived in India in 1668, went back home in 1671 and returned again in 1672. François Martin, the founder of Pondicherry, landed in India in 1665 as a sub merchant of the Company. Five years later he was at Surat. He was also with De La Haye during the siege operations of San Thome, where the French had to stand two attacks during their short lived occupation of the place (1672-74). It may be said that the French rule over San Thome was in reality one prolonged period of blockade of the town by the combined forces of the Sultan of Golconda and of the Dutch. It was finally starved into surrender in 1674 after the

two years. In August for the time being ing contacts between the French and the chief personages of the country and of securing grain for son. It was now that he became acquainted with nt of Poonamalle, who enjoyed considerable trade. Thome. He was struck by his honesty and integrity and recommended him to the notice of De la Haye and of François Martin. Thanappa helped Martin in his voyages to the ports on the coast to secure food stuffs. When it was resolved to send a body of Frenchmen to Pondicherry on January 13, 1674, to settle thereat, the question to be next decided was whether these should go by land or sea. On the advice of Thanappa it

the vigilant watch of a big Dutch ship anchored in the roadstead of San Thome

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1 Daftari	8
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who may

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in Tamil and supplied to the writer by the kindness of Monsieur Gnanou Diagou and made available in English now

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the vigilant watch of a big Dutch ship anchored in the roadstead of San Thome

and reached the sea by the mouth of the Adayar River. The emigrants were also apprehensive of capture by the Dutch in the neighbourhood of Sadras, but fortunately passed that part of the coast in the dark of the night. The next evening, at 4 P.M., the boat reached the Pondicherry roadstead. High waves prevented any *catamaran* from reaching it that day, and it was only on the third day of the voyage that the people could disembark, i.e., January 15, which was the day following the Makara Sankranti, known as the *Mattupongal*.

Thanappa Mudaliar became Martin's principal adviser and co adjutor in all his activities. Very soon, the Dutch began to prosper and prospered off San Thome to prevent the ingress of the French. They mobilised the garrisons at their factories at Porto Novo, Dévanāmpatnām (later, Fort St. David) and Negapatam for the purpose of attacking Pondicherry. Further, they intrigued with the Sultan of Golconda and got troops from him. They also approached the Bijapurian Governor of Gingee, Nazir Muhammad Khan. The Dewan at the court of Bijapur, Khan Khanan, was a worthless voluptuary sunk in pleasure and had entrusted all affairs to his favourite, Siddi Darvesh. This latter was a black, curly-haired Abyssinian and very avaricious, he was bribed by the Dutch, and a body of cavalry was detailed by him to lay waste the region of Pondicherry. Moreover, many of the neighbouring Poligars had been won over by the Dutch and directed to harass the French at Pondicherry. The Dutch had also urged the English at Madras to help in driving away the French residents in their settlement. These were the dangers that beset the infant town of Pondicherry even in the first year of its existence.

The French had only one ally, Sher Khan Lodi, the ruler of Valikondapuram (the Volcondah of Orme) a man who, by the judicious use of men and money, had contrived to keep all enemies at bay. But he was not then in a position to render any active assistance to the struggling body of Frenchmen at Pondicherry, because he himself was engaged in a fight with the Nayak of Madura. Still, he contrived to send them a body of horsemen whom he had stationed at Cuddalore and gave them some financial assistance also.

In this critical year (1674) Thanappa Mudaliar served as the constant adviser of both De la Haye and of Martin. He had on several occasions to go to San Thome, and once his journey had to be delayed because *catamarans* were not available. The information regarding Thanappa's help to Martin is also noticed in the *Journal* that the latter kept of his doings and embodied in the *Memoirs* that he compiled in 1676.

In July 1688, there arose a dispute between the Capuchin monks of Pondicherry and the Governor. The Capuchin Mission had purchased a plot of land to the north of the trading market of the Company and proposed to build thereon out.

construction of additional living rooms and moreover to the west of the church there was an extensive garden for their use wherein a building was also being constructed. As such, he said there was ample room and accommodation for their purposes. But as the monks were adamant in their demand, the Governor consented to the construction of a few out houses. They drew up plans for the construction of

a beautiful chapel and also attempted to build by its side a two storeyed monastery containing many rooms and rising higher than the neighbouring houses. Consequent on the objections raised by the Company's officials, the Governor came to a compromise with the monks by which it was agreed that the Company was to take over that building and compensate them otherwise (Martin's *Second Book*, p 554). It is known from the books kept by the Capuchin monks that Antonio, son of Lazare De Motta, the Company's Dubash, and Maria, daughter of Lazare, were baptised on March 20, 1671 and on 5th August 1688, respectively.

Just as Kāśi Viranna (the Casa Verona of the Records of Fort St George) at Madras was greatly helpful to the English interests at that settlement, so also Thanappa Mudaliar at Pondicherry completely identified himself with the French and furthered their interests to a great extent. Kāśi Viranna was a most influential merchant of Madras, was utilised by the English in their negotiations with the country powers, particularly the Moslems and succeeded Timmanna as the Company's Chief Merchant in 1678.

In the year 1674, when Martin came to Pondicherry there were only a few fishermen's huts at the place, besides a stone house built by the Danish King. Thanappa was greatly helpful to Martin in providing suitable and adequate facilities for commerce, for the export and import of articles of merchandise and for their

nians and Jews) to start trade relations with Pondicherry.

He built, in the year 1683, a church on the sea shore, at his own expense for the use of Tamil Christians. Subsequently in 1686 he handed over the Church to the Capuchin monks as noticed above. Some decades later it was totally ruined by heavy rains and the Capuchin monks had to build another shrine in its place. On stone inscriptions in the new Chapel are written these words —

'The foundation stone of the church built by Lazare De Motta the Chief of the Tamil merchants attached to the French East India Company in the year 1686 is here. But a portion of the temple got so damaged on account of heavy rains that it became necessary to demolish the entire edifice. For the purpose of restoring to the site the respect which was its due this temple was built and consecrated on December 20 1734 (1).

After a very useful life of activity, Thanappa Mudaliar died at Madras on one of his visits to that place. There is a tombstone inscription now found among those in the pavement outside St Mary's Church in the Fort which runs as follows —

'In the year 1691 (corresponding to Pramoduta Chitra 21st day) Lazare De Motta alias Thanappa Ahambadi Mudaliar a founder of the French Company at Pondicherry, breathed his last. He lies buried in St Andrew's Church at Chennapatnam (2).

Thus died Thanappa Mudaliar at the height of his wealth and fame without having the misfortune to witness the capture by the Dutch of Pondicherry whose foundations he had laid and whose development into prosperity was so largely due to his care.

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II ANDRE MUTHIAPPA MUDALIAR

A Resolution of the Superior Council of 1720, April 27, says that in regard to the one thousand Palayamkottai pagodas given over to the Treasury on November 15, 1701, and entered in the books of the Fort to the credit of the family and five hundred and fifty pagodas accrued by way of interest, the said interest of 550 pagodas

pa's family This is a recorded piece of evidence showing the continuity of trade association with the Company of Muthiappa, the son of Thanappa and of his son Pedro

It was the custom in those days that all converts who received baptism were to be named after some saint In accordance with this practice, the father Thanappa must have been given the baptismal name of Lazare and the son that of Andre In view of the fact that the father died on the upturned Cross, the word Andre had been rendered known as Veléndran Mudaliar

From the petitions to the Governor of two grand sons of Pedro Kanakaraya Mudaliar, son of Andre Muthiappa Mudaliar and Courtier from 1724 to 1746, in the years 1816 1818 praying for permission to use the decorations of their grand-

that a place by the old patron of the family

The Governor at that time was the Chevalier Hébert who was miserly and avaricious and wanted to shake the pagoda tree quickly Andre Muthiappa did not fully understand his temper and character or was unable to satisfy his greed in sufficient measure The Superior Council, in its Resolution of December 12, 1708, when it dismissed Andre Muthiappa for his failure to effect a proper sale of the Company's coral and replaced him by a Hindu merchant of Madras, named Naini-yappa, who contrived to secure a relatively good price for it, wrongly entered in its record the name of the dismissed Courtier as Lazare The correct name should have been Andre Muthiappa, the son of Lazare De Motta

That is why a mistake had crept in the introduction to the book "Un Livre de Compte de Ananda Ranga Poulle, Courtier de La Compagnie des Indes, Traduit Du Tamoul" par Le R. P. Onbagaraswamy Bernadotte, Introduction et Notices Biographiques par Edmond Gaudart, Pondicherry 1930, it was put, on page xvi, "Pour le recompenser des services qu'il avait ainsi rendus, le chevalier Hébert le nomma courtier, en remplacement de Lazare de Motta (18 Decembre 1708)", and it was mistakenly held that Lazare lived on till 1708, though we have the actual tombstone inscription at Madras already referred to above that his death took place at Madras while he was on a visit to the place in 1691

Muthiappa had not inherited perhaps the great abilities of his father, but he enjoyed considerable influence with the Jesuits, who had been empowered by a Royal Edict of 1695 to settle in Pondicherry and had closely followed the Capuchins, he cultivated their friendship and kept them informed of all transactions conducted

through himself. The office of *Mudaliar* (or *Dubash* or *Courtier*) empowered its holder to control the entire business of the Company with its Indian clients. He was the middle man between the Company and the merchants, weavers and other workers who furnished goods for export and bought the imported commodities; he was also the Tamil translator of the Company and acted as surety for the good conduct of the various Indian lessees and contractors who had relations with the Company. Likewise, he fixed the prices of all the articles of the Company's merchan-

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sent to the ruler of Gingee,
place a Hindu, Nainiyappa,
to have been "an honest
and well spoken Hindu "

Whatever might have been the real inner reasons that weighed with Hebert for the removal of Muthiappa, the action was itself manifestly unjust. The Governor showed, in a marked manner, his dislike of the pious *Mudaliar* and thereby brought upon himself the enmity of the Society of Jesus. Not only Nainiyappa whose trade relations were hitherto mainly confined to Madras, was a Hindu and a
ly believed at the time,
ough bribery. Owing to
was recalled soon after-

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the present Hindu incumbent of that office, was to be removed from his place forth-
with. But the Directors of the Company amended the Resolution thus: Nainiyappa was to be given six months' time within which he should study the Christian Scriptures and only if he did not embrace Christianity with conviction within that period, he was to be removed and another appointed in his stead.

Dulivier arrived at Pondicherry, in September 1713, with these orders. Shortly afterwards, being very much under the influence of the Jesuits, he summoned the Superior Council to consider the petition of the Jesuits that the King's orders respecting the demolition of the new shrines of the Hindus and the dismissal of the Hindu *Mudaliar*, should be enforced. The Council however feared an exodus of all the

of his influence with the Muhammadan rulers of the land, his services were indispensable to the Company. Very recently the Nawab of the Carnatic had demanded

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ture of money, he had also successfully patched up all the troubles with the Muhammadans and had a unique knowledge of the Company's affairs both in and out of Pondicherry. If dismissed, he might work much injury to the Company and even secure the flight of the lessees of land, toddy-contractors and others from the settlement. It would be difficult to collect cloth for export to Europe without his help.

for the three ships that were to set sail immediately. Thus the Council resolved -

No Indian Hindu or Christian is so fit to hold the office of Mudaliar in these days when Nawabs and other native potentates are keen on resecuring their grants to European subjects. We must try our best to attract him to our religion by convincing him of the truth of our S... If we approach the man in the proper manner, near the Church, we may out the King's resolution.

It is not merely a matter of prudence at this anxious juncture to retain Naimiyappa who will be useful to us. But the association of a thoroughly trustworthy Christian in the post of Mudaliar would appear to be necessary so that he may gain

merchants will have a protection of their own.

In view of these reasons the Council (Resolution of the Council March 9 1714) appointed unanimously Savari⁽¹⁾ a Christian with a reputation for honesty as co-Mudaliar with Naimiyappa. They were to get on in their jobs as Mudalars without any distinction of seniority and were always to be friendly and to act in concert. Savari was to interest himself in the promotion of the welfare of the Christians. He was to inform us of occurrences inimical to Christian interests as soon as they took place. He was warned that he would be summarily dealt with if he was slack in this duty. Naimiyappa was warned not to do anything against

him a severe punishment awarded.

III PEDRO KANAKARAYA MUDALIAR

Pedro Kanakaraya Mudaliar was born in 1695 and was the eldest son of Andre Muthiappa but lost his father in his childhood. He learnt well the Portuguese language and was a native of India. He was a charitable man, friendly to all Christians. He was

so generous hearted that he was soft even towards his rival Naimiyappa the co-Mudaliar of Savari and defended him before the Superior Council when a charge

that Naimiyappa was not animated by any anti-Christian motive in this action of his.

The Chevalier Hebert returned to Pondicherry in 1715 along with his son having cleverly made his peace with the members of the Society of Jesus and secured

that they would stand security for his assurance on the express understanding

(1) In 1714 only a small endowment

was then Mudaliar so was not

not consent to be a party to this, but on the other hand instructed the merchants to settle their prices direct with the Captains of the vessels. From that time forward Hebert bore a bitter grudge against Nainiyappa and tried to utilise his personal enemies, creditors and others in order to harm him. Nainiyappa sought protection from Dulviver, the former Governor, but with no effect. Hebert strove to extort a large sum of money from the Council to demand only a quarter of the

on, who had been put on which was, he asserted, Nainiyappa had indeed on his return as Governor. He me time Hebert Junior reminded ed to reduce his demand to 5,000

charges —

(1) On the *Amatasya* (New Moon) day in February 1715 which happened to be a Sunday when Government had ordered that the Hindu rites should not be publicly performed, the Hindu inhabitants of the settlement protested and deserted owing to the instigation of Nainiyappa, who took a written promise from them that they would desert in this circumstance.

(2) He also instigated a popular riot at Kalapattu, a village to the north of Pondicherry, when a troop of soldiers was sent there to maintain order.

(3) Nainiyappa had his assistant, Kandan, who was associated with him in trade for a long time, tortured in the choultry and made him disgorge a portion of his earnings.

Nainiyappa pleaded that he was innocent of the first two charges and that, with regard to the third, since Kandan defrauded him, he had him beaten in the choultry and realised only what was taken away from him by appropriating Kandan's goods.

(4) The fourth charge against Nainiyappa was that he compelled the headman of a Right Hand caste to work under a Left Hand casteman, and when he refused to do so, he deprived him of his office and of his tools as well. The charge was brought also that the Mudahar levied some unauthorised taxes from the Indian merchants.

(5) Nainiyappa had paid from the Company's funds 1,035 pagodas to the Diwan of the Musalman *subah* and made out to the latter a *gumastah* that it was his own gift. He had also contrived to get possession of a *parwana* from the *subah* by which he was empowered to levy extra dues from cultivators.

The Council, after taking depositions from witnesses who were cited, came

to cond fine of suffered amounts, he was to be condemned to slavery and transported to Mauritius for life three years and to a payment of a amount of 8,888 pagodas for losses and that if he did not pay these

Kanakaraya Mudaliar bought some of the movable properties of Nainiyappa when they were sold publicly by government. A charge was now brought against Kanakaraya He pleaded criminal

had been very serviceable to the Company, first, in the matter of the securing of the site of the settlement from Nawab Sher Khan Lodi, of inviting merchants, weavers and artisans to settle at Pondicherry enabling them to build their houses, establishing regulations for their conduct and helping them in other ways. After the life time of Thanappa Mudaliar, when his son Muthiappa succeeded to his office, he was replaced after some years in 1708 by Nainiyappa

In these circumstances that Pedro Kanakaraya should have secured witnesses to testify to the charges against him would not be criminal. The only question to prove these was whether these witnesses spoke the truth as to Nainiyappa's implication in the *Amádistya* riots and in the rising in Kalapattu, as to his having secured the imprisonment and punishment of Kandan and as to his having forced ple, as to his having to his having given y power for himself ty of some y in which which his properties were hastily sealed up and were sold in auction, a portion being taken by some members of the Council themselves—these were opposed to all considerations of justice and fair play

When Dulivier was Governor he made use of Nainiyappa's case to harm Hebert, had the statement of the dismissed *Courtier* and the complaints of his companions, French and submitted them for The merchants of the Company and carried vigorous complaints against him to their headquarters, protesting that so long as he should continue in the governorship, they would not at all despatch any ships for trade to India. Kanakaraya was appointed to the post of Mudaliar immediately after Nainiyappa was accused. On May 2, 1716, it was resolved by the Council to send presents to the value of 300 pagodas in order to pacify the Nawab who had demanded 2,000 rupces and had besides occupied Valudávur, Villiyanur and other villages in the vicinity of Pondicherry. Pedro Kanakaraya successfully negotiated with the Mussalmans and brought their demand down to 2,000 rupees

On January 11, 1717, on the eve of the Pongal (Makara Sankranti) festival, there arose a big altercation between the Right and Left Hand castes people in Pondicherry (1). Hebert promptly secured the persons of four leaders on either side and brought them before the Superior Council for examination. After these persons and the Mudaliar were intensively examined, it was resolved that each one of these leaders should be given an indemnity for 3 000 pagodas and whichever side was proved to have acted contrary to *mamul* should lose their indemnity amount

(1) Such quarrels were a common feature of South Indian Hindu life, particularly among the Tamils in those days vide my paper on Right and Left Hand Factions in Madras (I. H. R. Commem. on 1929, Gwalior meeting)

Hebert said that there should be a further inquiry and ordered these headmen to be continued under arrest. Eight witnesses were examined, and on their testimony it was made clear that the Left Hand men had encroached upon the streets reserved for the Right Hand and no quarrel would have arisen had they confined themselves to their own streets. They demanded the compensation which was due to the wronged party. It was finally resolved by the Council that the Left Hand was responsible for the riot of the New Moon day and they should pay a fine of 3 000 pagodas to the Secretary to the Company and also their leaders should be imprisoned in the choultry as security for their payment. We learn, from the Consultations of the Council of January 19, 1717 that Kanakaraya Mudaliar took great pains to persuade the headmen of the Left Hand to carry out the conditions of their agreement and to submit quietly to the Council's orders that they should immediately pay down 1,000 pagodas and the balance of 2,000 pagodas within 30 days and meanwhile they should allow four of their leaders to be kept in the fort as guarantee. This is a remarkable instance of the capacity of Pedro Kanakaraya Mudaliar for terminating successfully an ugly episode in the life of the Hindu castes.

When Hebert was removed from office and La Prevostiere became the interim Governor he removed all the officials and headmen of the castes who had been appointed by his predecessor and replaced them by several of those who had been companions of Nainiyappa Pillai. Kanakaraya Mudaliar was also removed from his post though the Governor declined to take up any personal responsibility for that act and shifted it to the shoulders of the court of inquiry that had been appointed to try the case. The judgment given on the trial the 10th of April 1717 was that 10 000 livres and it was ordered that 10 000 livres should be paid out of the sale proceeds of his property as compensation.

For sometime after Kanakaraya was removed from the office of Mudaliar no new settlement was made and the trade of the settlement was so that the trade of the settlement was to indulge in quarrels and European became empty. The situation was so bad that the Superior Council had on one occasion to borrow 8 000 pagodas for current expenses from the Indian merchants. The latter agreed to do so on certain conditions. First the new Mudaliar that might be appointed should not interfere in the relations that might be entered into by the merchants with the weavers washers bleachers and others working under them. (2) That they would pay only half the dues on goods that might be exported and imported. (3) That the reorganised French Company—the reorganisation scheme of Law was then afoot—should

Guruva Pillai the eldest son of Nainiyappa Pillai had been befriended by the Missionary Father Paris and had been baptised and promised protection from the French Government. He was a member of the Order of the Compagnie de la Croix du Sud. He was a native of Tiruvengada (the Governor). Besides, Guruva Pillai was adopted as a French citizen. But he, Gururappa had taken to drink while in France and broke down in health soon after he returned to India. He died within a few days of his return.

Kanakaraya, in spite of the fact that he was removed from the office of Mudaliar, continued to take a keen interest in the promotion of the trade of the Company, with the Governor and the appointed to the office of the 24 But Guruvappa's relations and partisans did not like his appointment and petitioned against it to the Company in Paris On July 11, 1726 the Superior Council at Pondicherry decided, when letters were received through England, dated October 5, 1725, directing the

ment, experience and influence He is capable of sustained activity and of exert-

Kanakaraya learnt to appreciate the intelligence and honesty of Ananda Ranga Pillai who was then of a natural jealousy had superseded his o

was Kanakaraya that looked to the proper conduct of the ceremonies Kanakaraya was a friend of Imam Sahib who was a sort of Secretary to the Nawab, and through his influence he secured for the French the remission of half the charge that was levied on the minting of rupees by the French at the Nawab's mint at Alambarai (1732 December) He also arranged that the mint started at Pondicherry should be conducted under the supervision of a reliable merchant and recommended Sunku Seshachala Chetty for the place

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from the interior country would settle in Pondicherry and promote its prosperity In the place of these two taxes whose abolition he urged, Kanakaraya suggested the raising of duties on goods brought into the city and on goods brought into goods other than 1 be raised by a sm

Sunku Seshachala Chetty in the proportion of 1 2 The latter was the ostensible head, but the former was the real controller behind the scene In March 1737, Kanakaraya fell seriously ill of diabetes When an acting incumbent had to be appointed in the place of Kanakaraya, Ananda Ranga Pillai was recommended for the place by some Councillors Then Kanakaraya did not allow the longstanding

animity between Pillai and himself to stand in the way of urging his appointment Ananda Ranga Pillai indeed says of Kanakaraya, when he got a medal as reward from the Company "There has been before him no Dubash who held office so long, or who amassed so much money, and there has been no predecessor of his whose name has travelled so far as France, and who has obtained so much distinction Who shall say that this man is not fortunate?"⁽¹⁾

Kanakaraya took a prominent share in the negotiations for the purchase of Karikkal from the Rajah of Tanjore The details of these negotiations are given by Ananda Ranga Pillai but he naturally tried to make little of the efforts and methods of Kanakaraya Kanakaraya was told by Imam Sahib when he visited Pondicherry at that time — "I am very glad that Chanda Sahib made a present of Karikkal to *your people* You are amicably disposed towards one another and may you continue to be so"

In one place Ranga Pillai unwittingly gives expression, in strong language, to the ill will subsisting between himself and Kanakaraya whom he charges with making defamatory reports against him to the Governor and calls down God's wrath upon the head of his enemy He however continued to enjoy the favour of the Governor and was prominent in all the negotiations with the country powers He received the wife and family of Nawab Safdar Ali Khan when they were sent for protection to Pondicherry during the Maratha campaign of 1740 and also Safdar Ali himself along with Chanda Sahib, Taqi Sahib and others, when they paid a visit of courtesy to Pondicherry in September In December 1740 Kanakaraya who acted also as Dubash to the Governor, suggested that he could obtain a large sum by levying an income tax on all the merchants of the company as well as on the wholesale and retail traders and all those dealers *Komatis* and *Gujaratis* who had fled for shelter to Pondicherry owing to the incursions of the Marathas From the records preserved in his family it is known that Kanakaraya enabled the realisation of a large sum by this means Hussain Tahir Khan presented a palanquin fitted with silver fittings to the Mudaliar who was allowed to use it by the Governor He negotiated with the Maratha sardars in the country and went to Karikkal along with the Governor in June 1741

Kanakaraya was always in prominent attendance at all State receptions He received personages embassies and letters usually in the company of some Europeans, Muthiappa Pillai and others It is maintained by Monsieur Gnanou Diagon that

Kanakaraya never showed any animus against the Hindu castes but treated all communities alike without distinction of high or low birth nor did he in any way

concern himself with the faction fights of the Right and Left Hand groups. He always gave the Governor and the Superior Council impartial and conscientious counsel. He was given the village of *Alamkuppam* as *jaghir* for his services. When presents from the great Nizam ul Mulk who was investing Trichinopoly in 1742 came, they were received with all honours by the Governor, and in the reception Kanakaraya was naturally the first among the native gentry. He also played a prominent part on the occasion of Nawab Anwaru'd din's visit to Pondicherry in September 1745. His last great service was when he consecrated the Church that he built in the village of Redipalayam to the east of Olukkarai and in celebration of this invited members of all communities

arrangements being

caste Ranga Pill

which Kanakaraya

wanting, but he showed his personal jealousy in a later remark — Although of a different persuasion he (Kanakaraya) followed the practice of a Hindu, assembled people of that religion, and gave them a treat which afforded room for dispraise

whose associations brought them in touch with his religion" This comment was actuated only by a mean sense of jealousy at the success of Kanakaraya's entertainment (1)

Down to his last illness in February 1746 when Kanakaraya was almost at death's door, he enjoyed the full confidence of the Governor and the Superior Council. Thus Mahfuz Khan, son of Nawab Anwaru'd din, desired to see Dupleix on his way to Trichinopoly at that time, and Kanakaraya's younger brother, Chinnah Mudali was directed by the Governor to receive him and make arrangements. Gnanou Diagou points out the several good features of Kanakaraya's career and character in a note on the records that he prepared. Therein it is stressed that he promoted not only the export trade to Europe but also the trade with Asiatic ports, and the profits of the Company were high during the years of his Courtiership.

and for Governor Dumas were certainly very large and great in value. A striking contrast is also made of the effect and end of the Courtiership of Ananda Ranga Pillai with those of Kanakaraya, and the former is declared to have ended in the fall of Dupleix and in the collapse of French dominion due to neglect of trade and too much of interference with the politics of the country powers, which the Courtier should have advised against.

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Some Dutch documents on the siege of Jinji and capitulation of Pondicherry
1692-93, A. D.

[By K A Nilakanta Sastri, M A]

The celebrated siege of Jinji (1690-97) by the Mughal Army under Zulfiyar Khan and the activities of Rajaram during the period have been described fully by Professor Sarkar in Chapter 51 of his *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol 5. The third volume of *Memoires de Francois Martin* (1934) and the learned introduction to it from the pen of Froidevaux add many details to our knowledge of the period, though many of these had already been made known to students by Kaepelin's book, *La Compagnie des Indes Orientales et Francois Martin* (1908). Volume 4 of *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlandico Indicum* published by Prof Stapel in 1935 contains some documents bearing on this phase of South Indian History, and though these documents do not by any means alter the general outline of the history of this well worked period, they enable us to follow events with greater precision than before at some points and I think it may be useful to give brief summaries of these documents here together with some comments indicating their significance.

The first of these documents is a letter from the Mughal Chancellor Asad Khan to Laurens Pit the Dutch governor of Negapatam. The letter is dated 14th June 1692 and its Dutch translation is followed by an endorsement saying that it was collated at Negapatam and found correct by the first clerk Albert van Weede on the 29th January 1693. The following is a summary of this translation.

No 543 dated 14th June 1692

Letter of Asad Khan father of Zulfiyar Khan and Mughal Chancellor. The Dutch Governor Laurens Pit is ordered to watch Rama Raja whose fall is imminent and who is seeking an occasion for flight. Pit is to stop his flight and capture him if possible which would please the Emperor (Aurangzeb) very much. The French and other nations are required to help Pit in this, failing which they would be punished by the Mughal Court. (Vol IV p 10)

This order of Asad Khan was sought to be implemented by his son who in his turn issued an order in eleven copies to the persons in charge of the different coastal towns asking them to carry out the instructions of Laurens Pit on this account¹. The English factory at Madras was obviously not included in this for which there is no record of it in the *Madras Diary and Consultation Book* of 1692. There is a letter (p 9) from Asad Khan himself to Elihu Yule of April 1692 to the same effect as the Chancellor's letter to Pit. These letters show how ignorant or superbly indifferent Mughal diplomacy of the period was to the realities of the political conditions alike in India and Europe. In India the Dutch governor Laurens Pit had been making strenuous efforts to gain the support of Rajaram in his designs against the French from 1690² which was itself only a reflection of the hostilities in Europe between the Dutch and French which went on from 1689 to the Peace of Ryswick in 1697. Under such conditions to expect Pit to aid the Mughal forces against Rajaram and further to ask the French factors to help him to do so was a melancholy

¹ Corpus iv, pp 1011 n 4

² Kaepelin p 272

exhibition of ignorance or ineptitude, and such were the officers of the grand Mughal when the empire was still apparently at the height of its strength and splendour

The remaining five documents relate to the siege and capture of Pondicherry by the Dutch in 1693. The details may now be followed in the *Memoirs of Martin* and checked by the entries in the *Madras Diary and Consultation Book* of 1693 which records the important stages in the progress of the siege under August 21 (p 123) August 28 (p 128) and September 1 (p 131). The negotiations of the Dutch with Rajaram, who was always in financial straits and eager to sell his friendship to the highest bidder. Martin's attempts to foil them, and the role of the Brahmin officers of the court of Jinji in these negotiations have been traced in considerable detail by the authorities already mentioned. Francois Martin received from Germain whom he had deputed to Jinji in 1693 a copy of a treaty nearly completed between the Dutch and Rajaram, and this treaty was an important step in the development of the Dutch plans against Pondicherry.³ The following is a summary of this document as it appears in the Dutch version together with the contents of a letter from Pit to Batavia dated 31st August 1693 reproduced in Stapel's introduction to the treaty

No 558 dated 27th August 1693 — Rama Raja who styled himself king of Jinji had allowed the French to fortify themselves in Pondicherry and to the north of Tegenepatam. During the Nine years' War, Pit (Jr) the Dutch Governor took steps to drive the French from the Coromandel coast and gathered a force of 17 ships and 1 600 men in August 1693. The French sought Rama Raja's support and offered him 42 000 gold Pagodas.⁴ The Dutch also started negotiations but offered hardly half the sum offered by the French. Rama Raja played a waiting game for some time, but when Pit landed his troops and showed that he meant business he concluded the following anti-French alliance with him. (Details from an unpublished letter of Pit dated 31st August to Batavia)

Preamble We Rama Raja King of the Maratha people Ruler of Jinji and Lord of many other lands having seen the request and the desire of the Dutch Company (communicated to us by the Governor of Coromandel Laurens Pit Extraordinary Councillor of India) regarding the French their enemies at Pondicherry (Puducheri) and their desire to attack them with weapons have judged it proper to allow them to do so in the manner detailed in the following articles

1 Dutch allowed to attack the French at Pondicherry by land and water without any hindrance

2 A market or bazaar will be established in the army of the Dutch for sale of provisions and other requirements

3 Promise to supply required number of horsemen and peons to Dutch Company on condition of their paying them

4 Necessary Coolies for the work on siege operations to be supplied on payment. Rama Raja's representatives in the army held responsible for this and for reporting to him any shortcomings in this and other respects

³ Kaepelin p 307 *Martin Memoirs* 11 p 324

⁴ This is in contradiction to Martin's statements regarding his inability to find money to satisfy Rajaram's demands 11 pp 326 ff

5 All property captured by the Dutch after they capture Pondicherry shall be theirs

6 Puducheri, its fields, water courses, incomes, etc., made over to the Dutch

7 Also the town of Virampatnam and the mouth of the river likewise

8 Dutch Company permitted to mint Gold, silver, Copper, etc

9 Toll free in all goods, no half toll as in our lands

10 Undertaking to protect Dutch in possession of Puducheri after they capture it, against attacks from French or other enemies

11 (Last article) Recognition for himself and his heirs of Dutch Proprietorship of Puducheri (after they capture it from French) and Subedars Havildars, etc., of Rama Raja not to cause them any trouble but be friendly and helpful, and privileges granted by Sivaji extended to this place also (See covenants of 15th July 1677, and 31 Jan 1678 re—Tegnapatnam)

In return Company to pay 21 000⁵ *Puhl at Pagodas* in three instalments—5,500 when the Company's army camps before Puducheri, 5 500 when the bazaar has been installed and coolies supplied as noted before, 10,000 when Puducheri has been captured (ib 58—61)

The clauses of the treaty speak for themselves and show clearly how much the Dutch depended on it for their supplies and Commissariat arrangements during the siege of Pondicherry Martin's best efforts on the other hand proved of no avail he had no friends near about and after a week's heavy bombardment Pondicherry had to capitulate and a summary of the terms of the capitulation follows

No 559 dated 6—8 September 1693 Agreement between Francois Martin, Director General of the Royal French Company over the Coromandel etc and De La Rouche du Vigier (Commander) on the one side and Hon ble Laurens Pit encamped before Puducheri on the other re surrender of Puducheri

1st To surrender Puducheri fortress as it stood with its fortifications, ammunition, monies, merchandise etc., to Laurens Pit

2nd. The garrison King's and Company's troops, and all officers to be allowed to retire next morning with military honour colours flying fuses lit etc to the strand before the fortress where they will surrender arms and wait in convenient places for embarking to France at earliest opportunity

3rd They will be conveyed to Ceylon and Batavia in Dutch ships to await transport to Europe from there

4th Deserters from the Dutch to French excluded from the general terms Inland soldiers and topasses to be allowed to go where they liked

5th All officers to transfer in good faith to the persons appointed by the Dutch all the ammunition, money, articles in their respective charges—and attest the transfer

6th All mines, fortifications, batteries to be faithfully pointed out

7th Arrangement re—civil population of Frenchmen, women and children

8th In case of Peace in Europe Puducheri to be restored, though not the villages given to the Dutch by cowl from Native rulers

⁵ Martin gives this figure as 25 000 pagodas

9th Regulation of the quantity of baggage to be taken by the garrison and the manner of their transport to Europe

10th Arrangement for Martin's family remaining in India (San Thome) for a year and to be carried there with his belongings in Dutch vessels Batavia to be consulted

11th Priests of all denominations to be transported to Europe in Dutch vessels

12th Contract void if good faith is broken in the transfer of goods referred to in articles 1 and 5 above

13th Both sides agree to be bound by these articles in good faith and not circumvent them by fraud or for technical flaws (ib pp 61—67)

The year 1693 was comparatively easy for Rajaram Zulfikar Khan had been compelled to raise the siege of Jinji and withdraw to Wandiwash And Rajaram used his relative freedom to assist the Dutch in their enterprise against Pondicherry in the manner noted above After the fall of Pondicherry, he heard from Laurens Pit of his success and of some small differences with the local representative of Jinji and the following is a summary of Rajaram's reply to the Dutch governor

No 560 dated 27th September 1693 Letter of Rama Raja in Marathi from Jinji to Laurens Pit Your letter telling me of your success against French and their departure and of your differences with Swamiosie Panditar regarding surrounding lands Our friendship must continue unimpaired and I am sending instructions for clearing up the position and seeing that these differences do not recur (ib pp 67-8)

Zulfikar Khan when he returned to the siege of Jinji confirmed the Dutch in their privileges in Pondicherry which they had got from Rajaram as is evident from the next document summarised below

No 590 dated October 1695 Confirmation by Zulfikar Khan (who was besieging Rama Raja in Jinji) of Dutch rights in Puduchery and 13 neighbouring villages (named) in the province of Valdivar Mughal officers forbidden to have any concern with these places (Ibid pp 119—21)

Lastly for the sake of completeness one more document from the collection may be summarised so as to give an idea of how the Peace of Ryswick was implemented with regard to Pondicherry and its neighbouring villages —

No 607 dated 13th September—2nd October 1699 Stapel's introduction — Article viii of the Peace of Ryswick required the Dutch to return to the French everything captured outside Europe during the war And the agreement of Martin to ask for only the Castle of Puduchery and not the villages conveyed to the Dutch by cowl from native princes was not now heeded But the authorities in India had their own accounts to settle the Dutch had spent much in improving Pondicherry's Martin and Laurens Pit

1st Puduchery and all dependencies including those the Dutch got from Rama Raja to be surrendered to Martin without exception and without any pretences being reserved for future

2nd 16 000 Gold Pagodas current coin to be paid in three instalments in lieu of all Dutch claims on these lands

3rd On payment of 8,000 pagodas, the Dutch should withdraw the watch kept at Cuddalore gate (of Pondi) and hand over the redoubt near Aryan Coopum

4th. Dutch troops and officers to stay till 8th October on which day they will hand over to Martin the redoubts, keys of gates, etc

5th From 8th October Martin to get control of trade, toll etc, of the Puducheri

6th Power of Attorney held from Negapatam to trade to be handed over to Martin by Weitnaw and Van der Burg

7th Undertaking to follow articles in good faith

8th Four copies to be made, two in each language, one set for French side and the other for Dutch

The whole is dated 13th September and signed by Weitnaw and Martin among others

An addendum dated 2nd October acknowledging payment of 8,000 pagodas and executing Article 3 above

Approval of Governor General of Dutch India, dated 24th April 1700

(ib pp 168—74)



know of this, and placing a few horsemen in Bangalore, he went to Tanjore, drove out Vijaya Rāghava Nāyaka, and laid the foundation of Maratha power in that city.¹ Since we know that Venkoji was the favourite son of Shahji, we have to assume that he accompanied his father in the latter's expedition to Tanjore. If King Kṛṣṇa Raja Odeyar is to be trusted, the conquest of Tanjore was effected in A D 1662 when Vijaya Rāghava Nāyaka ruled.²

But we may note in the same breath that the conquest of Tanjore is generally attributed to Venkoji himself in 1676, when Vijaya Rāghava Nayaka's young prince Sengamaldas ruled, the real power having been entrusted to the latter's general Alagiri. It is said that Venkoji defeated General Alagiri, and usurped the Tanjore throne for himself.³

Leaving this discrepancy between the tradition of the Kannadigas and that of the Tanjore rulers as emt ' , - - ' " 1 " present we may pass on
On Shahji's death, Sabhu

the Bijapur Sultan.⁴ Shahjī died in January 1664 while out a hunting in the village of Basvapattana on the banks of the Tungabhadra.⁵ The Karnāṭaka districts, and we may presume, Tanjore as well, thus passed into the hands of Venkojī in 1664. Students of Maratha history are aware of the claims which Sivāji put forward to these paternal estates, the consequent estrangement that followed between himself and Venkojī and the successful endeavours of Sivāji in reducing Tanjore to subjection.⁶ These events are placed after Sivāji's expedition to Guṇjee and Vellore in 1677.⁷ Duff asserts that it was in the same year 1677 that Sivāji took possession of Arnī Kolar, Bangalore, Hosakōṭe, Ballapura, and Sira, i.e., all the *jaḡirs* of Shahjī from Venkojī.⁸

Sir Jadunath Sarkar calls these principalities "No Man's Land" ⁹ But that was not so Every one of these principalities was under a *paleyagara* or chieftain of the Elehanka nād Prabhu House It is enough if we give two examples to prove our statement—Kolar and Bangalore In Kolar ruled the Avatī nād Prabhus and the Sugatūr chieftains Thus the cotemporary of Shahjī was Immadi Baire Gauda of Avatī nād in 1640, while the Sugatūr chieftain was Immadi Cikka Rāya Tammaya Gaudarayya in 1637 ¹⁰

Without entering into the details as to how these Kolār chieftains were worsted by the Bijapur generals, we may pass on to the more interesting question of Marata rule over Kolār. A stone inscription dated only in the cyclic year Isvara, Kārtika, Bahula 12, which Rice correctly assigned to A D 1637, gives the name of the Maratha official placed over Kolār merely as *Srīmanṭa Desakulakarnī Samāgna*.¹¹ In 1653-*the Rajadhirāja Rajarāja Sambhāji Raja Mahārāja's* son Kannarāyaji Pandita is said to have made a specified gift of land to some one whose name is effaced in the

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while returning from
ganna, op cit, pp 151-

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*Sabbasad, *ibid*, pp 89, 91 92

⁷Duff *ibid.*, I, pp. 228, 230, 231, 233, 234.

⁸Duff, *ibid.*, p. 231

¹Sarkar, *op cit.* p 348

¹⁰*Epigraphia Carnatica* X, Sd 31, p 183 Kl 247, p 69

¹¹*Ibid.*, *supra* note 49, p. 185.

record¹ The whole of the Kolār-Sime in 1654 was under Kanayava Pant, who is styled in the stone inscription of that date as the Agent (*karayakarita*) of the Emperor Sambhājī. It is this record. They were t Rāja Mahārājarayan² another stone inscription Sembhājī (which is evidently an error for Sambhājī) Rāja to a certain Antarājī Pandita³

Who was this Sambhājī referred to in the above records? It could only have been the eldest son of Shahjī. But later Maratha tradition maintains that Sambhājī fell in 1649 in an attack on Kanakagiri which Shahjī carried by assault⁴. If the contemporary stone inscriptions are true, then, it cannot be that Sambhājī died in A.D. 1649. Indeed, we have reason to believe that he continued to rule over Kolār for many years afterwards.

But in about 1662 the governorship of that district was placed under Venkojī. This is proved by a stone epigraph dated only in the cyclic year Subhakrt, Caitra Suddha 5 but correctly assigned by Rice to A.D. 1662. In this record we are told that during the regime of Venkojī Rāja (*śrīmatu Enkoja Rājara ahuṣike* (*va*) *li*) the *haraldar* in charge of the fortress of Rahadurga was called Baranājī Rāja⁵.

Venkojī for in the ne stone inscrip Rājādhiraja citizen (name) a very short time, rnor of Kolār. The y says that Śrīmad of land to a certain inscriptions there- fore Sambhājī was placed over Kolār from 1653 till 1663 with a break of about a year (1662) when Venkojī was appointed as its governor.

Let us now turn to Bangalore. Within the jurisdiction of this district of Bangalore were Doḍḍa Ballāpura (the Ballapur of the Maratha historians) and Devanahalli—two small fiefs which again the Āvati nād Prabhus had founded in the sixteenth century⁶. Sambhājī's vicerealty extended over Doḍḍa Ballapura as well. This is proved by a stoned record dated 1647 which mentions Sambhājī as governing over Dobba Ballapura⁷. Ten years later in 1657 Sahu Rāja appears as the governor of Bangalore. In a scrip tion of 1657—Aje Maratha viceroy made out to who the son of Balo tāluka of the san it be tāya tana 11

¹ *Epigraphia Carnatica* X, Mb, 154 p 111

² *E C X* Kl 193 p 60, text, p 68.

³ *Ibid.*, Kl 176, p 57

⁴ Sarkar, *op cit.*, pp 20, 42

⁵ *E C X*, Sd 47, p 185

⁶ *Ibid.*, Kl 219, p 63

⁷ *Ibid.*, IX, Intr, p 26

⁸ *E C*, IX D B 28, p 64

⁹ *Ibid.*, IX Nl 69 p 46

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, IX Cp 26, p 139

¹¹ *Ibid.*, IX Cp 68, p 145

Excepting in one record cited above, Venkoji does not figure in the list of viceroys placed over the Kolār and Bangalore districts. Sabhasad tells us that he was in Candāvuru.¹ In 1676 we know that Venkoji confirmed the grant of Negapatam to the Dutch.² But in the next all his paternal jagirs in Karnātaka wh
Jadunath Sarkar tells us that in 1678
jagirs from Sivāji.⁴ It was obviously due to the reconciliation brought about between the brothers by Venkoji's wife Dipabai, as is alleged in the *Sivadigvijaya-bakhar*.⁵

Venkoji was now firmly planted on the throne of Tanjore. His claims over the Karnātaka jagirs,
into thin air. For in
celebrated of Karnāta
Marathas. This was the famous king of Mysore Cikka Deva Rāya, who reigned from 1672 till 1704.⁶ A very elaborate copper-plate grant of this monarch dated
er the Marathas
Rāma, subdued
as Cikka Deva,
rāthas Sambhu
lost his valour. Ekoji was deserted by all, when the mighty Cikka Deva Rāja, having slain Dādoji, having cut off all the limbs and slit the noses of Jaithāji and Jasavanta, set forth for war.⁷

This defeat inflicted on Venkoji by Cikka Deva Rāja seemed to have followed the latter's great victory over Sivāji himself. We infer this not only from the above record dated 1686 in which in an earlier context Cikka Deva Rāja is described as having 'put to flight Anantoji', then to have defeated the Marathas of Paicavati (which was evidently Nasik), and, finally, to have won the victories mentioned above over Sambhu and Venkoji but also from a later record dated 1772 which expressly
Venkoji
the ruler
brought t
swollen with pomp the famous Sivāji came, he (i.e. Cikka Deva Rāja) humbled his

We have now to identify the generals mentioned in the above records, and incidentally verify the statements referring to literary evidence in support of our assertions above, viz, Dādoji Jaithāji, and Jasavanta, stationed in the different quarters of Karnāta

¹ Sabhasad *op cit* p 89

² Rangacharya *A Topographical List of Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency*, II, p 1347.

³ Duff, *op cit*, T p 231, *op cit*

⁴ Sarkar, *op cit*, p 352

⁵ Parasnis *Itihāsika Sangraha* I, pp 37-39, Duff, *ibid*, I, p 234

⁶ Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p 126

⁷ *E C* III Sr 14, p 11

⁸ *Ibid*, Sr 64, p 20

of one of the court poets of King Cikka Deva Rāya by name Tirumalāryya (1645—1706) ¹ This well known Kannāḍa author wrote a work called *Apratimaracaritra* in honour of King Cikka Deva Rāya, one of whose titles was, as related above, *Apratimarā* which he secured after his victory over Sivaji. Tirumalāryya informs us in this work, that Venkoji had placed Esavanta (i.e., Jasavanta) over Posavūru (Hosavūru, or Hoṣūru), while at Dharamapurī were stationed Haraji, Jaitāji and Dadaji. ² On the strength of the record dated 1686 cited above, it may be maintained that it was in that year that Cikka Deva Rāya won victories over Dādaji, Jaitāji, and Jasabanta.

In the next year (1687), according to the later work *Maisururajarāmsavali*, Cikka Deva Rāya himself, Kaṭṭur mapurī ³ If Venkoji ⁴ then, it may be conjectured that that ruler counterbalanced the loss of his father's Karnataka *jaqirs* by the establishment of a richer principality in Tanjore where his successors continued to rule for nearly 179 years ⁵

¹ *Karnatoka Kavī-carite* II, p. 461.

² Tirumalāryya, *Apratimaracaritra*, pp. 75, 83, (Mysore 1931)

³ *Maisururajarāmsavali*, I, p. 107

⁴ Cf. Somasundaram, *op cit.*, p. 75

⁵ Somasundaram, *ibid.*, p. 3





WHEN DID SIVAJI START HIS CAREER OF INDEPENDENCE ?

(By Mr. D. V. Apte, B.A.)

Two different approaches are usually made to the problem. One is that Shivaji was crowned in 1674 A D and consequently the date of this Coronation must be regarded as the first day of Shivaji's independent career, and since there is no ambiguity regarding this date, the starting point of Shivaji's independence is not a problem at all.

The other approach would be on the lines of the statements in the Bakhars. Chitnis, for example, de^{cl} ^{ar} ^{es} th ^{at} ^{he} ^{was} ^{only} ^{twelve} ^{year} ^{old} ^{when} ^{he} ^{was} ^{crowned} ⁱⁿ ¹⁶⁷⁴ ^A ^D. Shivaji was an uncomm^{on} ⁱⁿ ^{his} ^{seventh} ^{year} ^{It} ^{sake} ^{of} ^{rescuing} ^a ^{cow}.

None of these views, I am afraid, will stand the test of a proper scrutiny.

The Coronation ceremony was obviously a formal declaration or rather an open assertion of Sovereignty, the final touch to the achievement and not the *beginning* of Shivaji's independent career. We must therefore, trace our way backwards to find out the first stage of that important aspect in his life.

For full four years before 1674 A D Shivaji was engaged in waging war not only against the Mughals but against the Bijapur Sultan as well. He must have been therefore an independent power already in 1670 A D. It is true that before 1670 Shivaji conducted himself to all outward appearance at least as a vassal of the Mughals for 5 years. But this is a hard note to set on his account.

The Mughals themselves have left a landmark of their own recognition of Shivaji's independence from Bijapur and it is in the form of a letter addressed by Aurangzeb himself to Shivaji.

Aurangzeb's letter to Shivaji on the 23rd April 1657 A D (Raj Vol 8 No 5) clearly states that Shivaji was to retain the forts that he had already seized from the Bijapur Sultan and was to add some new forts like D. bhala in the Konkan.

or, in other words when the Bijapur Court openly styled him as a rebel.

Bakhars as already mentioned, state that Shivaji was removed from Bijapur to Poona by Shahaji because even as a boy Shivaji could not be forced to observe the formalities at the Bijapur Court. But we can not depend upon the statements in the Bakhars which were written more than a century after the demise of Shivaji and take this as the beginning of his independence.

Shiva Bharat contemporary epic poem, says that Shivaji was sent by Shahaji from Bangalore to Poona when he was twelve years of age offering this as another probable occasion for the same event. Sabhaand Bakhar adds its own weight to this supposition by stating that Dadoji Kondadeo brought him to Poona along with Jijabai. But it is known that at Poona Shivaji was under the supervision of Dadoji up to 1647 A.D. and that it was only after Dadoji's death that he was obliged to

was undoubtedly acting as a specially appointed Subhedar of Shahaji at Kondhana, his action ought not to have created any row at the Bijapur Court. And if the

we can not however accept as true, the statement of the Bakhar that Shahaji was imprisoned at this time because of his son Shivaji's acting as a rebel on the Poona side. Shiva Bharat and Muhammad Nama (both contemporary works) definitely assert that Shahaji was imprisoned for his insubordination to the Bijapur general Mustafa Khan, and Shivaji was forced to give up the fort of Sinhagad to Bijapur authorities for securing the release of his father Shahaji. This clearly proves that up to 1647 at least when Shahaji was released Shivaji obeyed the orders of his father; that is, he was acting as his agent in administrative matters.

For full 6 years after this Shivaji seems to be acting in the same capacity. More than 20 original and contemporary papers are available in Marathi (Raj. XV, XX and Shiva Charitra Sahitya) supporting this view. Two of them deserve special mention. It seems that Neelkantharao died in 1654 A.D. and his sons approached Shivaji who was at Poona for the continuance of the Jagir in connection with the management of Purandar fort. Shivaji reported the whole matter to Shahaji who was in Karnatak as one would report to one's legitimate superior and Shahaji issued the necessary orders to Neelkantharao's sons. A separate letter of assurance by Shivaji also is available. These letters (Shiva Charitra Sahitya Nos. 87 and 88) go to prove that Shivaji was acting only as the agent of Shahaji upto 1654 A.D.

A careful per
Shivaji discloses
fact that Shahaji

s of letters,
and 1655,
(Shi Cha.

Sahi No 140)

The fact is significant. It is just possible that it might be indicative of the virtual assumption of independence by Shivaji after 1655 A.D. Shahaji was a noble man of the Bijapur Court and his loyalty to the Court there would not allow him to carry on correspondence with Shivaji or issue orders to officers at Poona who were henceforth acting under Shivaji.

We know from the Jedhe Chronicle that Shivaji captured the Raigad and several other forts and changed their names (i.e., substituted Sanskrit names for Persian ones) in 1656. An original mahajar written on the 21st March 1657 (Raj. XVII, No. 10) gives names of 8 ministers Peshwa, Sabnis, Surnis, Sarnaubat, etc., at the

Court of Shivaji another evidence of growing independence. We can therefore assert that 1656 A D must be regarded as the beginning of Shivaji's independent career.

But we need not depend upon merely deductive evidence. We have a more positive proof also. Among the papers that were available at the historical exhibition in the B I S M at Poona in 1938 several persian farmans were seen in the collection of a gentleman from Hyderabad Deccan. One of them dated 4 Ramjan Hijri 1068 i.e. 27th May 1658 A D was issued by Ali Adilshah to Shahaji. It was read and explained by Mr G H Khare the Curator of the Mandal before the members of the fortnightly meeting on 9th August 1939. The farman purports to state that Shahaji need not worry himself about the objectionable conduct of his son Shivaji, because the Court knows Shahaji to be a loyal servant etc.

This clearly goes to prove that Shivaji was known to be a rebel at the Court of Bijapur before 1658 A D.

We can therefore take the year 1656 as very nearly the beginning of Shivaji's career of Independence.



HISTORICAL SETTING OF A GRIEVOUS EPISODE—TRAGEDY OF MASTANI

(By Mr Vasant Dinanath Rao, M A , LLB ,)

I have attempted in this paper to present a brief account of a tragic episode from the Maratha history—the romance of Bajee Rao and Mastani—as revealed by the authentic historical records of the Peshwa period. The accounts hitherto published of Mastani, the famous mistress of the illustrious peshwa Bajee Rao Ballal, are mostly based on imaginative and conjectural material, no attempt having been made so far to explore the mines of historical records throwing light on the incidents of her life. I have tried to glean from the available historical records and meagre though the light thrown by these on her life may be, it will help to understand and appreciate properly the role played by this lady in the life of one of the greatest personalities of the Maratha history.

Origin of Mastani —

The origin of Mastani is shrouded in mystery. No less than three theories about her origin are current and it would be worth our while to examine each of these in the light of historical material supporting it.

(1) According to the first theory, Mastani was a courtesan in the keep of a Muslim sardar Shahjatkhan¹ by name. She was found by Bajee Rao's brother Chimaji Appa while attempting to commit suicide by swallowing poison and was dissuaded from the suicidal attempt by him on his assurance that his brother Bajee Rao would accept her as his mistress on his return from Bundelkhand. The solitary piece of historical evidence in support of this theory is the account given in Peshwas' Bakhar². In the absence of any further historical corroboration of this account and there being very little evidence as to who was this Shahjatkhan and how Chimaji Appa happened to come across his courtesan, this theory is hardly acceptable.

(2) According to the second theory, who on the advice of his wife presented ceremony of her marriage with a dagger diplomatic relations with the Marathas contained in a letter embodied in Kavyetihas sangraha³. This too like the previous one is not supported by any further historical evidence and hence not worthy of much credit.

(3) The third and universally accepted theory is that Mastani was either a courtesan at the darbar of King Chhatrasal of Bundelkhand or his illegitimate daughter (probably the latter) and that she was given to Bajee Rao by Chhatrasal as a token of gratitude for the signal services rendered by the former to the latter in repelling the invasions of Mohmedkhan Bingsh on Bundelkhand. This theory is corroborated by an account given in a Marathi bakhar⁴. Pogson⁵ and General Briggs⁶ support this theory. Rao Bahadur Parasnis⁷ refers to a genealogical account got directly from the descendants of Mastani as supporting this theory. Pandit

¹ According to Peshwanchi Bakhar (Sohan) Shahjatkhan was a sardar of the Delhi Emperor sent against Nizam.

² Ibid.

³ Kavyetihas Sangraha, Patre Yadi vegaire page 499

Kalidas in his *Nibandha Chandrika*¹ alludes to an old history of Bundelkhand written in Urdu as giving a similar account of the origin of Mastani. Unfortunately this Urdu book is not available. This theory is thus supported by historical evidence as well as by common tradition. It must however be accepted with caution in the absence of substantial direct historical evidence.

In addition to the above theories about the origin of Mastani I propose to put forth a new theory of her origin which has for its basis an account contained in a letter found in the Peshwa Daftar². This letter is unsigned and the identity of its writer cannot be ascertained therefrom. From its language and phraseology, it appears to have been written to Bajcerao by some Muhammadan (possibly a slave dealer). It is suggested by this letter that Mastani was a slave girl either purchased or taken forcibly by Bajcerao from some slave dealer. This new theory is indeed, a highly speculative one based as it is on an unsigned and obscure letter. This is quite plausible however, if we look to the social conditions of the time which allowed slave trafficking (regulated of course by certain rules). Some of the letters from the Peshwa Daftar throw much interesting light on the slave trade of the time³.

Whatever be the origin of Mastani she had undoubtedly entered into Bajcerao's life some time in 1729 or 1730. The earliest reference to her in the historical records

named Samsher Bahadur. There is no direct evidence of the date or year of Samsher's birth, but it can be ascertained from certain old sources⁴ that he died at the battle of

imputing backwards from this year, birth of Samsher was an important brought about an amelioration in

her status in the Peshwa family. This is seen from the fact that a separate apartment for the residence of Mastani was built in the Peshwa's palace in 1736⁵. Mastani at this time seems to have enjoyed a status of equality with Bajcerao's lawful wife Kashibai as can be inferred from a letter written by Baburao Ram Fadnis (father of the famous Nana Fadnis) stating that no distinction was made between Kashibai and Mastani⁷.

For some years (upto the beginning of the year 1739 to be precise) things went on smoothly and the domestic peace of the Peshwa family remained unruffled in spite of the presence of Mohammadan mistress in the Palace. Clouds however began to gather on the horizon threatening the domestic tranquillity of the Peshwa household when about the middle of 1739, there began talks about the celebration of the thread ceremony of Raghunath and marriage of Sadashivrao. Bajcerao had been for many years past leading a 'restrained' life freely indulging in the strictly forbidden vices of drinking and eating flesh and openly associating with a Mohammadan mistress. These licentious habits of Bajcerao the result of the long and constant contact with the pleasure loving people of the north were so far connived at. But

¹ *Nibandha Chandrika* by Pandit Kalidas, published 1884

² Peshwa Daftar Vol 9 letter 36

³ Peshwa Daftar Vol 4^o Letter 16 and Vol. 43 Letter 51

⁴ *Ibid* Vol 30, letter 353

⁵ Pogson's Boondelas, page, 108 Family accounts of Peshwa Sardars by General Briggs.

⁶ Pant Pradhan Shakawali page 6

⁷ Peshwa Daftar Vol 18, letter 12

now when the priestly class of Poona was consulted in the matter of the proposed third and more agreeable pact. The result was that the Peshwa was not in any religious ceremonies

Trouble began for Mastani now, for the whole blame for Bajerao's licentiousness was thrown on the head of Mastani by the elderly members of Peshwa family Chimaji Appa and Nanasaheb believing the licentiousness of Bajerao to be due to his contact with Mastani¹

Mastani from Bajerao's
round the apartments of "

Bajerao² Bajerao thereupon left Poona and went to Patas³ Mastani, however seems to have managed to escape from her palace on about 24th November 1739 and joined Bajerao at Patas⁴

Matters stood thus when the Maratha Sardar Mahadajee Pantia for whom Bajerao entertained high regard, was dispatched to Patas by Bajerao's mother to persuade him to give up his licentious mode of life⁵ Mahadajee succeeded in persuading Bajerao to send Mastani back to Poona⁶ It also appears that Bajerao took a vow not to drink⁷ This did not, however, improve matters Bajerao was ill at ease on account of his separation from Mastani⁸ and still persisted in the wild

him¹² Chimaji Appa however has no longer any faith in such promises of Bajerao and feels sure that Bajerao's remaining with Mastani would, instead of improving matters make them worse¹³

By the beginning of the year 1740 it appears to have been finally resolved by Chimaji Appa and Nanasaheb to take steps to bring about a complete separation between Bajerao and Mastani¹⁴ Mastani was still under a strict watch and she
confinement¹⁵
er strike and
It appears

that they had decided upon arresting her and Chimaji instructs Narasaheb to gain her confidence to facilitate her arrest¹⁷

¹ Peshwa Daftar Vol 9 letter 30

² Marathyaanchya Itihasachi Sadhane Vol 6 Purandare Rojanishi by Rajawade, page 30

³ Ibid

⁴ Ibid

⁵ Aitihashik Charchya, Itihas Sangraha, pages 9, 8 11

⁶ Ibid

⁷ Ibid

⁸ Peshwa Daftar Vol 9 letter 35

⁹ Peshwa Daftar, Vol 9 letter 30

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ Ibid

¹² Peshwa Daftar Vol 9, letter 31

¹³ Ibid

¹⁴ Peshwa Daftar, Vol 30 letter 33

¹⁵ Ibid

¹⁶ Ibid

¹⁷ Satara Papers Vol 2, letter 275 Aitihashik Charcha Itihas Sangraha, page 10

While Mastani's arrest was under contemplation by Nanasaheb and Chimaji, King Shahu who seems to have been informed of the plan, warned them through the royal secretary Govind Khanderao Chitnis against taking such drastic measures¹ Shahu does not seem to hold Mastani responsible for Bajee Rao's licentiousness and forbids harm being done to her² He indeed advised the restoration of Mastani to Bajee Rao³ In spite of this royal warning Nanasaheb arrested Mastani in confinement in the Palace⁴ in some distant and confined place⁵ Chimaji apprehended Bajee Rao's intervention⁶ Nanasaheb informs Chimaji about the arrest of Mastani by a letter dated 26th January 1740⁷ This letter throws a good deal of light on the circumstances of Mastani's arrest and the plans of Nanasaheb and others in this respect Nanasaheb's statement in the letter to the effect that no force had to be used at the time of her arrest indicates the preparedness on his part to have resort to violence if necessary in effecting the arrest⁸ The assurance given by Nanasaheb in the same letter that she (Mastani) would not be put to death suggests the extent to which they were prepared to go in carrying out their plan⁹ Nanasaheb however was afraid that the repercussions of this step on Bajee Rao might be so strong as to drive him to attempt to force her release¹⁰ or commit suicide

All this was being planned when Bajee Rao was still away from Poona Even though it was quite possible to force the liberation of Mastani by resort to armed force, he wisely abstained from such a step preventing thereby the sowing of seeds of domestic strife and civil war Nanasaheb and Chimaji as remarked above did in fact apprehend a move in this direction from him¹¹ Even Mastani had similar apprehensions but she gave a solemn promise to Nanasaheb not to leave the palace without his permission¹²

This forced separation of Mastani from Bajee Rao however, failed to appease the Brahmin priests of Poona who stoutly refused to officiate at the thread and marriage ceremonies at the Peshwas' house while Bajee Rao was present In the circumstances these ceremonies had to be performed in his absence in February 1740 This was too much for Bajee Rao who was already deeply afflicted by Mastani's separation and in sheer disgust and despair he made for Burhanpur on 7th March 1740¹³

¹ Peshwa Daftar, Vol 9 letter 32

² *Ibid*

³ *Ibid*

⁴ Aitihasik Charcha Itihas Sangraha page 12 (Mastanicha Shewat)

⁵ *Ibid*

⁶ *Ibid*

⁷ *Ibid*

⁸ *Ibid*

⁹ *Ibid*

¹⁰ *Ibid*

¹¹ Itihas Sangraha Aitihasik Tipane

¹² Panta pradhan Shakawali page 7 Peshwa Daftar, Vol 9 letter 37

Chumaji Appa now realized the futility of the forced separation between Bajee Rao and Mastani and advised Nanasaheb to release Mastani and send her to Bajee Rao.¹ This advice was not however, immediately acted upon by Nanasaheb who instead of sending Mastani, sent Kashi Bai (Bajee Rao's wife) to him. The strain of mental agonies was too great for Bajee Rao who had a sudden breakdown while on the bank of the river Narbada and died three days later.² Fate willed that the life of this great Peshwa, to whom the great Maratha empire owed much of its glories should end in an unrelieved tragedy, even he was denied the comfort of having by his side during his last moments his beloved mistress for whom it may be said with truth he sacrificed his life. Mastani was released from her captivity and allowed to proceed to meet Bajee Rao,³ but it was too late. She received the news of Bajee Rao's death on her way, at Pabal about 30 miles away from Poona. The shock was too great for her and she died immediately on the receipt of the grievous news. It is not known how she died, of heart failure or of some other cause which the ladies of those days always used to attribute to her end at Pabal is, however, corroborated by her tomb which can still be seen at the village. Thus ended this tragic episode in the life of one of the greatest soldiers of Maratha period.

¹ Peshwa Daftar, Vol. 9 letter 33

² Peshwa Daftar Vol. 2^o, letter 146 Panta Pradhan Shakawali page 7

³ Peshwa Daftar Vol. 9, letter 33



District Town Panchayat of Ancient Bengal.

[By Dr. D R Bhandarkar, M A, Ph D]

At present no traces of the old Pañchayat system are found anywhere in Bengal, and it is believed that it was never prevalent in this Province. The find of the Damôdârpur and kindred copper plate inscriptions forces us—however to reconsider this matter. The Damôdârpur Plates are five in number, and are all connected with the *Vishaya* or District of Kôṭivarsha and the *Bhukti* or Province of Pundravardhana has been identified with Mahāsthān in the Bôgra District and Kotivarsha with Bangarh in the Dinājpur District, Bengal. Now, it is worthy of note that these records register the orders of the *Adhikarna* of the Kotivarsha *adhishthana* to certain village officials in regard to the conveyance of certain lands. Let us in the first place determine the exact sense of these terms. First what is an *adhikarana*? It is generally taken in the sense of 'a Court of Law' or 'administration of Justice'. But this seems to be the narrow sense of the term. In 1903-04 when T. Bloch excavated Basarh, the ancient *Vaisālī* he lighted upon many seals of the early Gupta p

Bal adhikaranasya, Sri

so forth and so on¹ ;

Kacchari or *Kachhari*,

that is, 'any court of administration, judicial, customary, ecclesiastical or military. Let us now see what court of administration is referred to in the Damodarapur Plates. It is true that most of these Plates have lost their original seals. Fortunately one has been preserved which clearly calls it *Kotivarsh adhishthana adhikarana*, that is, 'Office of the District Town of Kôṭivarsha'. This shows that *adhishthana* here denotes the principal town of a district, in this particular case, the district town of Kôṭivarsha. Let us proceed one step further. In all these plates except one the personnel of the Town Board has been specified. To take the earliest two of them, they refer "

A D Fur

dent and

members. Five members thus constituted this Board, in other words, it was a veritable *Panchayat*. The president of this Board, as we have just seen, was *Vetravarman*, who was a *Kumārāmātya* by designation but who was appointed, we are told, by *Chhatradatta* who was the *Upari* or Governor of the Pundravardhana *Bhukti* or Province. He was thus a nominee of the state. But what about the other members of the Board? The first of these *Dhritipala*, was the *Nagara sreshthū*, the second, *Bandhumitra*, *Sārthavaha*, the third *Dhritimitra*, *Prathama Kulka*, and the fourth, *Sāmbapāla*, *Prathama Kāyastha*. Of these the *Nagarasreshthū* has survived in the modern *Nagarsheth* of Gujarat. "In all the chief centres of trade" says the *Bombay Gazetteer*² "some of the leading Vania capitalists under the name of *mahājans* or great men, form a merchant guild. The guild fixes the rates of exchange and discount, and levies fees on certain transactions, spending the proceeds on humane and religious objects. The head of their community, the *nagarsheth* or city merchant, was formerly a man of much power and importance, though of late years, with the decay of his functions, his influence has been much reduced." This clearly shows that up till some time ago, the *nagarasreshthū* was the head of all the artisan guilds of the district town. And this suits here exceedingly well. As regards *Sārthavaha* it is scarcely necessary to point out that the term denotes

¹ *ASI An Rep.* 1903-04 pp 170 and ff

² Vol IX Pt I, pp 95-96, *Hopkins India Old and New* pp 1-3 79

the leaders of caravans. Those who have read the *Buddhist India* of the late Prof. Rhys Davids need not be told that even in the sixth century B.C. "there were merchants who conveyed their goods either up and down the great rivers, or along the coasts in boats, or right across country in carts travelling in caravans. These caravans, long lines of small two wheeled carts, each drawn by two bullocks, were a distinctive feature of the times. . . . There were taxes and octroi duties at each different country entered, and a heavy item in the cost was the hire of volunteer police who let themselves out in bands to protect caravans against robbers on the way."

ago, the only dif
as Vanjārās or L
of Central India
empires were the

the Nagara sreshthins represented the special industries of the District and the internal mercantile dealings, and Sārthavāha the external commercial intercourse between province and province and country and country. We have now to consider the full significance of the phrase Prathama-Kulika. Katyāyana, the author of a Smṛiti, says in one place: *Kulanam tu samuhasu Ganah sa parikṛtāh*, "Gana is an aggregation of clans." It seems that originally when a Gana or a tribe conquered some territory, the different Kulas constituting it divided the land among themselves. Every Kula has its autonomy, such *eg* as the Sākya-kula, and the several Kulas confederated themselves into the tribal oligarchy or Gana such *eg*, as the Licchhavi Gana⁴. Kulas were thus petty Zemindaries, and their heads were styled Kulikas. There can be no doubt that up till later times the Kulas played some part in fiscal administration in different provinces. It is a well known fact that when the grant of land or village is made by a king,

Antiquities of Chamba state ⁵ we find that after the specification of the state officials mention is made of Khasa Kulikas. The same is the case with the copper plate grants of the Pala kings of Bengal. They too specify first the state officials and make mention thereafter not only of the Khasa, but also the Gauda, Mālava and Hūna, Kulikas ⁶. But that the Kulikas cut a more important figure in the Gupta period may be seen also from the fact that several seals of Kulikas have been found in the excavations of Basarh, such as those of Kulika Nāgādatta, Kulika Harī, Kulika Omabhata⁷. What is further noteworthy is that there has been picked up at least one seal from Basarh where with the individual name Harī is coupled not simply Kulika but rather Prathama Kulika,⁸ showing that this Harī was the first and foremost of the Kulikas of Vaisālī. Kulas or clans seem to have been further divided into Kutumbas or families. The head of these Kutumbas are similarly called Kutumbins, and they have been actually referred to as such in the cave inscriptions of Mahārāshtra ⁹. These Kutumbins were the peasant proprietors

Prov. Castles of the Punjab and North West Frontier

In later times, though the term *Kulika* was forgotten, the term *Kutumbin* is traceable in the *Marithi* the cultivators preserved in this discussion or the Court of District Zemindars

There now remains the fourth term to be explained, namely, *Prathama-Kāyastha*. We have therefore to trace the history of the *Kāyastha* caste in Bengal. The first question that arises is when did the *Kāyastha* caste spring into existence in this province? In this connection we have to note that there is a work called *Nyayakandalī* by *Sṛīdhara*, which is a commentary on *prasastapada's Vaisesika-sutra*¹. There he tells us that he composed the work at a place called *Bhūristishti* in *Dakshina-Radhā* in *Saka* 913 991 A.D. at the request of one *Pandudasa*, who was "the head mark of the *Kāyastha Kula* or community". The *Kāyastha* caste had thus been formed in Bengal by the tenth century. But what was the primary occupation of the *Kāyasthas* before they developed into a caste? A copper plate was found in *Tippera* more than ten years ago which is dated G.E. 188—506 A.D. and speaks of *Naradatta* as the officer who drew up the grant. There he has been designated as *Sandhivigrahadhikarana Kayastha*, that is, 'a *Kāyastha* in charge of the Department of Peace and War'.² It is difficult to say what the word *Kayastha* here denotes, but there is here no indication at all that the *Kayasthas* formed a caste about the end of the sixth century A.D. What was then the exact duty of the *Kāyastha* between the sixth and the 10th centuries before the *Kayastha* caste arose? The *Rānganij Plate* of *Isvaraghōsha*, which belongs to the late *Pala* period, mentions in the list of officials *Mahakāyastha* along with *Mahakaranadhyaaksha* and *Mahakshapatalika*.³ This shows that up till the twelfth century A.D. the function of a *Kayastha* in Bengal was different from that of *Karanika* or 'the writer' or *Akshapatalika* or 'the accountant'. But that does not determine the exact duty of the *Kayastha* in Bengal. If we, however, turn to the earlier *Pala* period and especially to the *Khāhmpur* charter of *Dharmapāla*, the list of officials specified therein clusters together *Jyeshtha Kāyastha*, *Mahattara*, and *Dāsagrāmika*.⁴ It appears that in the *Pala* period was a group of ten villages incharge *Dasagrāmika*, that above him was a *Mahattara*, and above the latter a *Mahā Mahattara* and that above every one of these was placed a *Jyeshtha Kayastha*. Now the term *Jyeshtha-Kāyastha* which occurs in *Faridpur Plates* also implies that the other officials namely, the *Mahā Mahattaras*, *Mahattaras* and *Dasagrāmikas* under him were known simply as *Kāyastha*. They thus seem to be district officers all connected principally with the collection of revenue and designated *Kāyastha* in ancient Bengal as they were in *Kashmir* in the time of *Kalhana*.⁵ *Prathama Kayastha* like *Jyestha-Kāyastha*, obviously denoted the highest grade among the *Kāyasthas* whose subordinate ranks were represented by the *Mahā Mahattara*, *Mahattara* and *Dasagrāmika*. To revert to the main point, the *Prathama Kāyastha* represents the class of officers who were in charge of the collection of the revenue.

It will be seen from the above discussion that a district town in Bengal was administered in the *Gupta* period by a Board of Five. Three members of this Board were *Nagara Srēsthin*, *Sarthavāha* and *Prathama Kulika* and represented

respectively the Industrial Commercial and Zemindari interests of the District. They seem to have been elected by their constituencies. What exactly the position of the Maha Kayastha was it is difficult to say. Apparently he was nominated by the Provincial Government the seniormost of the Revenue Collectors being selected for this purpose. There can however be no doubt as to the Head of this Board being appointed by the Provincial Governor. This has been actually stated to be so in the Damodarpur Plates. And what has to be noted in the connection is that it was not the Vishaya pati who was always appointed President of the District Board of Five as might be naturally expected. Of the five Damodarpur Plates only four specify details about this Head. Of these four, only one speaks of Vishaya pati as being President of this Board namely the Plate dated G.L. 214 and mentioning Svayambhudéva as his name. Of the remaining three Kumāramātya has been specified twice and Ayuktaka once as the President of the District Town Panchayat.

What exact duties this District Pañchayat carried out cannot be definitely determined. One duty certainly was the conveyance of land as is quite clear from the Damodarpur and other kindred copper plate inscriptions. Another duty must have been the settlement of town disputes as is also clear from Act IX of the *Mrichchhakatika* where the Srésthin and Kayastha figure in the *Adhikarana* along with its Head though the latter is called merely Adhikaranika there. In addition to these they must have been entrusted with duties connected with public works town charities and so forth. This receives confirmation from a Nasik Cave Inscriptions which relates the benefactions of Ushavadata to the Buddhist mendicants staying in the residential cave excavated by him for them. Ushavadata we know was a son in law and general of the Mahakshatrapa Nahapana (C 125 A.D.). After citing the details of his charities the Inscription says *Sravita nigama sabhaya nibadha cha phalakavare charitratoti*.¹ All this has been proclaimed by the Town

Village Panchayat but of these we have no definite knowledge.

In later times and elsewhere the term *adhishthan adhikarana* was replaced by *panchakula pratipatti*; the Head of which was designated Maham that is Mahamta an abbreviation of Mahattara. This is evident from some Rajputana inscriptions of the twelfth and thirteen centuries A.D.² Panchakula has survived in the modern Pancholi which certain families of Rajputanā still bear as a reminiscence of their ancestors having originally been members of Pañchakula.

The villages also of ancient Bengal were governed by a sort of Panchayat system about which some details have been furnished by the Damodarpur and other kindred records. But as this has already swollen into a big note the village Pañchayat of old Bengal will be treated elsewhere.

¹ *E.I.* Vol VIII p 82 l 4

² *Bomb Gazet* Vol I Pt I p 474 and ff

Economic Condition of the Ceded Districts (1800—1807.)

[By Dr J C Sinha M A , Ph D]

The Munro papers in the Alienation Office, Poona, contain much interesting information on the economic life of the Ceded Districts¹ at the beginning of the last century which may be of use to the economic historian of the Madras Presidency. Most of these documents have not been included in *Irubuthnot's Selections from the official writings of Sir Thomas Munro* and in *Gleig's Life of Major General Sir Thomas Munro* and for this reason they deserve publication. It will not be possible within the short compass of the present article to mention except only the most important of them and that also in their barest outline.

Early history of the Ceded Districts

The Ceded Districts which formed a part of the old Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagar, fell into the hands of a number of petty chiefs called *Poligars* after the battle of Talikota in 1565. In 1677-78 these districts were over-run by Shivaji. Later on they formed a part of the Nizam's dominions but were subsequently incorporated in the Kingdom of Mysore by Hyder Ali. By the treaty of 1792 the greater part of the Ceded Districts reverted to the Nizam and the remainder was allotted to him in 1799. The *Poligars* took advantage of the weakness of the Nizam's administration and were constantly up in rebellion. Their insurrection and subsequent subjugation had impoverished the districts to a great extent.

Restoration of Internal Order

With the help of a military force Munro suppressed the *Poligars*. The more turbulent of them were expelled and those who were allowed to remain, were forced to disband their armed retainers who had preyed so long on the ryots.²

We learn from Munro's letter dated February 1805 to George Buchan, Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras that the suppression of Vemlah *Poligar* had met with the disapproval of the Court of Directors but Munro defended his conduct on the ground that the present *poligar* was not related to the old Vemlah *poligar* who and his son were both dead by 1799.

Land Revenue

The restoration of internal order in the Ceded Districts was accompanied by the settlement of land revenue. The survey of lands began in 1802 and

¹ The ceded districts containing an area of about twenty seven thousand square miles were an extensive territory south of the river Tungabhadra which were transferred to the English East India Company by the Nizam of Hyderabad in 1800. They comprise mainly of the present districts of Bellary, Anantapur, Cuddapah and Kurnool in the Madras Presidency. They were administered by Sir Thomas Munro as Collector from October 1800 to October, 1807.

² In 1800 when the Ceded Districts were transferred to the Company there were exclusive of the Nizam's troops about thirty thousand armed peons under the command of eighty *poligars* who lived on plunder and rapine. Gleig—*Life of Major General Sir Thomas Munro* (London 1830) Vol I P 303.

appears to have been finished by 1806. The total assessment for the Ceded Districts and Punganoor was estimated at *Star Pagodas* 16 41,986 24 c¹

Ryotwari and Zamindari Settlements

In another Ms record dated Anantpooor, 20th June, 1806 we find an interesting discussion in the form of questions and answers about the relative merits of *ryotwari*² and *zamindari* settlements. Though the document is not signed the replies must have been written by Munro. This is clear from his subsequent minute dated 15th August, 1807, extracts from which have been published in *Arbuthnot's Selections*. The arguments against the *zamindari* system in both the documents are substantially similar, but each deals with many interesting matters which have not been recorded in the other at all.

The main advantages of a *ryotwari* settlement, according to the earlier document are —

- (1) It would render the Ryots more independent than any other
- (2) 'It would diffuse more widely than any other system of benefit of private property in land
- (3) It would enable the Country to yield in the long run a greater produce and perhaps a higher revenue than any other system
- (4) 'The authority of Government and of the Courts of Justice would be more respected under a Ryotwar than any other settlements'

The chief disadvantage of the system according to the document, is that "the expense of collection must always be somewhat greater than where Estates consist of one or more villages" but there was the counterbalancing advantage *viz* a complent (*sic*) view of the state of the cultivation and of the resources of the country.

It was however, recognised that the introduction of *Zamindars* or *mootadars*³ in the district would give an immediate encouragement to agriculture. As the Mootadar would have a deeper interest than the Revenue Officer or even than the Ryots in the cultivation of the country, he would be more anxious to promote it.

The second advantage of the *Zamindari* system lay in the apportioning of rent to the circumstances of the ryots. The *Zamindar*, being more intimately acquainted with the ryots was better qualified to grant remissions than the

¹ Accounts were then kept in *Star Pagodas fanams* and *cash*. The usual rate of exchange was 33 *cash* = 1 *fanam* and 42 *fanams* = 1 *Pagoda*. According to *Trinsep Unjui Tables* Calcutta 1834 p. 39 the weight of a star pagoda was 52.40 grains and it contained 42.55 grains of fine gold. It usually exchanged at 3½ rupees.

² In his Minute of 31st December 1824 quoted in *Arbuthnot's Selections* Munro defines *ryotwari* settlement as follows —

It means a settlement with the individual ryot who owns or occupies the land and the receiving the public assessment from him without the intervention of any renter or zemindar. Whether the assessment be a fixed rent in kind or a fixed share of the crop in kind or commuted into money or a fixed or varying money rent — it is still *ryotwari*. But the kind of *ryotwari* which according to Munro was the best was a fixed and moderate money assessment.

³ *Mootadar* was properly *muthadar* from *mutha* meaning an estate composed of one or more villages. In Munro's Minute the word is treated as synonymous with *Zamindar*. But as *Arbuthnot* points out the term *muthadar* was usually applied to estates smaller than those held by the *zamindars* of the Madras Presidency.

revenue officer of the Government. Further, it was to the interest of the Zamindar to attract new tenants and to prevent the desertion of old ones by granting favourable terms.

Another argument in favour of the zamindari system was that the village tanks would be kept in better order and repaired at much less expense by zamindar than by Government. The *Motadars* would in their own interest issue *tuccari* loan whenever it was requisite and they were much better judges of the necessity than any public servants.

Against the zamindari system it was urged that under it 'the great body of the Riyo would be kept in a state of dependence on the *Motadars* who would give them short leases just sufficient to encourage them to cultivate the land but would take care to secure to themselves the chief share of the profit of all improvements. There would be richer individuals but the aggregate wealth of the country would be less than under the Ryotwari System. The arguments in the document on the relative merits of the ryotwari and zamindari systems run over 25 closely typed foolscap sheets.

Assessment of Rent

The document throws also some light on the economic condition of the ryots of the Ceded Districts. The proportion of the gross produce of land paid as rent varied according to the economic condition of the cultivator. The ryot of the middling class i.e. neither rich nor very poor paid 45½ per cent¹ of the gross produce as rent to Government. The remaining 54½ per cent which was the ryot's share was distributed under the following heads —

- (1) Fees to village artisans and the expenses of cultivation—40 per cent
- (2) For the maintenance of the ryot and his family—14½ per cent

Economic Condition of the Ryot

According to this document the ryot has no furniture except a few earthen vessels which are furnished for the fees included in the expenses of cultivation by the Pot maker of the village. Of the expense of cultivation the hire of labourers is reckoned to make about two fifths but as most of this work is done by the Ryot's own family one fourth of the expense of cultivation (i.e. 10 per cent of the gross produce) should be added to the maintenance of his family which gives 24½ per cent for that purpose.

The ryot of the middling class in those days was not supposed to save any thing but merely to have enough after paying his rent to maintain his family and keep up his agricultural stock. Besides the share of the produce of his field the ryot of the middling class obtained about fifteen *Pagodas* a year by the sale of milk and ghee poultry and the thread spun by his women. The petty ryot had in those days barely enough for subsistence (*sic*). This is not surprising for the Ceded Districts had not yet recovered from the misrule and rapine of the previous decade. Though the cultivation had greatly increased since 1800 it was still considerably less than it was in 1789.

¹ Munro considered this State demand as too exorbitant and in his Minute of August 15 1807 recommended the reduction of the existing assessment by one-fourth so as to make the Government's share one third of the gross produce.

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House Tax

In his Minute of August, 15, 1807, Munro proposed permanent ryotwari settlement and recommended the retention of the house tax in the Ceded Districts as a source of increasing revenue but he suggested that the tax should be made more general than it was at the time. Both the proposals are available in Arbuthnot's *Selections* and need not be reproduced here. It may, however, be noted that this house tax was one of the earliest instances of income tax in this country which has been very fully described in another unpublished Minute of Munro, dated January 28 1805, addressed to the President and Members of the Board of Revenue.

We learn from this Minute that the ryots paying land rent were, in general, exempted from the house tax but labourers who almost in every case received their wages in kind, had to pay the tax. Weavers also paid the tax, rated according to the estimated produce of each loom and the number of looms employed. In the case of merchants, the tax often amounted to 50 *pagodas* (a year) and was clearly a tax on income. Mahomedans Brahmins and other privileged castes like the Rajputs were exempted from the payment of the tax. As Munro rightly observed the tax, as it was then levied, was "contrary to every just principle of taxation in that the richer should be more lightly assessed than the poorer classes of the people."

Rural Indebtedness

Another interesting observation on agricultural indebtedness in the Ceded Districts which is not available in Arbuthnot's *Selections*, may be briefly noted here. Every Ryot, as Munro writes in his Minute of August, 15, 1807, has an account with a Bazarman and a balance against him. This account often runs through two or three generations and is rarely paid off entirely. It usually originates in a small advance by the Bazarman who probably gives him 70 or 80 Rs. and takes bond for a hundred with interest at two and a half per cent. monthly. The ryot in return makes payments in grain cotton and other articles which are usually valued against him and he receives occasionally from the Bazarman small sums for the discharge of his lists. After going on in this way for a number of years, the ryot finds that though he is continually paying, he is only getting deeper into debt. Similar instances are not altogether rare even in our more enlightened days.

Production and Price of Raw Cotton

The actual produce of cotton in the Ceded Districts was estimated by Munro to be not less than two hundred and twenty seven thousand maunds (2,27,000) a part of which was used for the local manufacture of cloth and the rest was exported to Mysore, Nellore and Arcot Provinces. The average price of cotton was then from Rs. 3 to 4 (per maund?) but unless there was a rise in price, further extension of cotton cultivation even in the "the black land" of the districts could not be expected. The poorer classes of the ryots of these districts then cultivated very little cotton. Even the most substantial cultivators seldom laid down "more than one fourth of their land in cotton", for, grain was then a more paying crop and it provided also straw for their cattle.

¹ This refers to the black cotton soil of Berar which is one of the chief cotton growing tracts in India at the present time.

Currency.

The substitution of money rent for rent in kind which had well nigh become completed by 1806¹, created a difficulty in the collection of revenue. There was no particular coin in general circulation in the Ceded Districts when they were transferred to the Company. It appears from Munro's letter to the Superintendent of the Mint, dated Anantapoor, 18th April, 1807 that the ryots were then paying their rents in about forty different coins at an exchange which was "fixed with reference to the *Contaroy Pagodas*"². The various local coins were, however, gradually giving place to the *star pagoda* and the Company's rupee³ which were rarely to be seen a few years ago, but which became by that time "equal at least to the amount of all the other coins in circulation".

Famines

But in spite of the restoration of internal peace and orderly revenue system, the economic condition of the people in the Ceded Districts did not appreciably improve under Munro's able administration. One of the chief reasons was frequently scarcity and famine during the greater part of the period under survey. The most effective famine relief measure, in Munro's opinion, was facility for the importation of grain. He recognised also the importance of adequate water supply as a preventive of famines. But as most of the ryots and merchants in those days used to store grain in pits in good years as a safeguard against unfavourable seasons, he observed that "the seasons alone, however, adverse, can never in one year occasion a famine". The scarcity due to unfavourable seasons was, in his opinion, converted into an actual famine only by wars, rapacity of Government and exactions and robberies of petty *zamindars*. These factors no longer operate in British India yet the famine problem still remains one of the baffling problems of Indian administration even at the present time.

In fact, some of the documents seem to be very modern indeed. There are quite a number of papers dealing with excise duties on betel nut tobacco *arrack*, *toddy*, hemp and other intoxicants, and with salt monopoly. There are interesting observations with regard to sub division of holdings, repairs of tanks and *nullahs*, and similar agricultural problems. Equally interesting is the discussion about currency. Munro was of opinion that paper currency was not possible, but there should be a uniform system of metallic currency for British India, and, failing that, for the Madras Presidency. Evils of fluctuating exchange due to multiplicity of coins were forcibly brought out from the point of

¹ In his letter to the President and Members of the Board of Trade dated Anantapoor, 24th August 1806, Munro said that land rent was then paid "entirely in money (and) no accounts (were) kept by the village *curnams* (accountants) of the produce in kind".

² This *pagoda* was a mere money of account which derived its name from gold coins called *Canter raya janams* struck by the Mysore Prince Canterna Narasingha Rava. Ten such *janams* formed the nominal *Contaroy Pagoda* in which accounts were usually kept in Mysore. [From Buchanan's *Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, second edition (Madras, 1870) Vol II p 381.]

³ In 1805, the exchange of Company's rupees in the Ceded Districts was from 343 to 355 per 100 *star pagodas*. Most probably the same rate of exchange prevailed substantially in 1807.

view both of trade and of revenue administration. Even the theory of currency was not left out of account. For, in the Minute dated January 25 1806, it is stated that "there can be no doubt that intervention of a paper currency not readily convertible into cash will in all countries and much more so in this raise the price both of labour and provisions to an alarming extent". Some of the problems facing Munro during his administration of the Ceded Districts still remain unsolved. It is therefore clear that his observations merit study and consideration.

THE LOCATION OF THE SUDDER NIZAMUT ADALAT IN BENGAL.

(By Mr. D N Banerjee, M A)

The object of this paper is to show, with the help of contemporary, official manuscript records, where the Sudder Nizamut Adalat was first established in Bengal. There is a difference of opinion among authorities on this question. In connexion with the subject of the 'Judicial Regulations of 1772', 'proposed by the committee of circuit on the 15th August, 1772 and adopted by the President and Council (of Fort William) on the 21st of that month', Harington¹ has observed —

"Moorshed-
Adawlut,
is part of
the Moulas"
was lodged in the

chief and council at Moorshedabad

Peter Anber² has endorsed this view in his *Analysis of the Constitution of the East India Company, etc*³. In his *Rise and Progress of the British Power in India*⁴ he has, as will appear from the following extract therefrom practically reproduced the language of the relevant⁵ judicial regulation without making it definitely clear where the Sudder Nizamut Adalat was actually established

"Two superior courts of justice were to be established at the chief seat of Government the one under the denomination of Dewanny Sudder Adawlut, and the other the Nizamut Sudder Adawlut

In the course of one of his lectures as Tagore Law Professor, Herbert Cowell⁶ has said in the same connexion

'These Foudaree Adawluts (in districts) were placed under the control of a Sudder Nizamut Adawlut established at Moorshedabad'. It was presided over by a darogah or chief officer, appointed by the Nizam. A Chief Kazee, a chief Mooftee, and three Moulavies sat to assist him "

He has added however, that the Court 'was shortly after its establishment on its new basis removed to Calcutta'. But it is evident from what he has said that, according to him the Sudder Nizamut Adalat was originally established at Moorshedabad

¹See his *Analysis of the Laws and Regulations enacted by the Governor General in Council at Fort William etc* Revised Edition London 1821 Vol I, p 299

He was (once) President of the Council of the College of Fort William, and Chief Judge of the Courts of Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut at that Presidency

²Once Secretary to the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company

³Published in London in 1806 See pages 277 78 of the book

⁴See Volume I p 476 This volume was published in London in 1837

⁵Quoted hereinafter

⁶See his *History of the Constitution of the Courts and Legislative Authorities in India* 1872, pp 38 39

S C Bagchi of
been retained (see
used the word

⁷The italics are ours

On the other hand we find that, according to Firminger¹, Monckton Jones² and Ramsbotham³, the Sudder Nizamut Adalat was to be established, under the Committee of Circuit's Plan for the Administration of Justice in Bengal, to which reference will be made hereinafter, at Calcutta

There is a third view on the matter, which practically evades the point we are considering in this paper

throw much light on the
Sudder Nizamut Adalat ('

Diwani Adalat ("Chief Court of Civil Judicature") was "established at the chief seat of government" In his *History of British India*⁴, James Mill has said in the same connexion - "At the seat of government were also established two supreme courts of appeal....Suddur Dewanee Adaulut.....Nizamut Suddur Adaulut"

And in his *Government of India*⁵, Ilbert has stated :

"Superior courts were established at the chief seat of government, called the Sadr Diwani Adalat and the Sadr Nizamut Adalat" But neither the authors of the

what they mean by the
They have practically
before), the language

of the relevant judicial regulation

is, which of these two views is the correct one? As will be evident from the extracts from relevant documents quoted below, the view of Harrington, Peter Auber and Cowell is erroneous and that of Firminger, Monckton Jones and Ramsbotham is correct. Unfortunately, neither Firminger, nor Monckton Jones, nor again Ramsbotham, has given any reason why he or she, as the case may be, has differed from such eminent authorities as Harrington, Peter Auber and Cowell. However, we shall show now why the view of the latter is wrong

At a meeting held at Cossimbazar on 15th August, 1772, the Committee of Circuit⁶ which at its meeting Administration and Council at Secret Consult together thirty

¹See his *Introduction to the Fifth Report*, p CCXXII

²See her *Warren Hastings in Bengal, 1772-1774*, pp 313-14

³See *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol V, p 415.

the East India

⁴See his book first mentioned before

Warren Hastings (President),

"That in like Manner two Superior Courts of Justice shall be established at the Chief Seat of Government the one under the Denomination of the Dewanee Sudder Audawlut and the other the Nizamut Sudder Audawlut"

Now the question is What was meant by the authors of the Regulation by the expression "the Chief Seat of Government"? Did they mean by it Moorshedabad or Fort William (Calcutta)? There is no doubt that the Committee of Circuit which had originally framed the "Plan for the Administration of Justice," meant by the expression, 'the Chief Seat of Government', Fort William (i.e., Calcutta), and we shall show beyond doubt that actually both the Superior Courts of Justice were first established at Fort William when effect was given to the Plan

As we have shown in detail elsewhere¹, at a previous Consultation² held at Cossimbazar on 28th July, 1772, the Committee of Circuit had expressed the opinion that the "Revenue in all its Branches" should 'be put under the immediate Control of the President and Council at the Presidency', and resolved that "the Board of Revenue at Murshedabad be abolished, and that the Court of Calsa (Khalsa) with all the offices appertaining thereto be transferred to the Presidency, and placed under the Charge and Direction of the President and Council" Further, the Committee had resolved that a copy of the minutes of this Consultation should be transmitted to the Council at Fort William, and had written a letter to the Council, advocating that the "Khalsa Cutcherry, and all the Offices dependent upon it ought to be removed to Calcutta"³

Now one important consideration which had led the Committee to recommend the removal of the Khalsa from Moorshedabad to Calcutta, was the possibility of a great increase in the population and wealth of Calcutta and of the corresponding diminution of the importance of the City of Moorshedabad As a matter of fact, the Committee had expected, as a result of this removal that the 'Consequence of the Presidency will be much improved with its Population, as it will lessen that of Moorshedabad which will no longer remain the Capital of the Province having nothing to support it but the presence of the Nabob and a few families of Consideration who possessing valuable property on the spot will of course chuse to continue there The Consequence of the Nabob himself will sink in proportion and the Eyes of the People will be turned to Calcutta as the Centre of Government and to the Company as their Sovereign'⁴ (The italics are ours)

It may be mentioned here that the Council at Fort William had unanimously 'concurred with the Committee (of Circuit) in the propriety of removing the Khalsa to the Presidency and of vesting the immediate superintendence of the revenues in the President and Council' In its letter, dated at Fort William 6th August, 1772, it had written to the Committee at Cossimbazar "The proposed removal of the Khalsa meets with our entire approbation"

¹See *ibid* pp 186-89

²Also see Proceedings, Council, Secret Department, Fort William, 6th August, 1772.

³See *ibid*, also the Committee of Circuit's letter to the Council at Fort William, dated at Cossimbazar 28th July, 1772, also Proceedings, Committee of Circuit, Cossimbazar, 28th July, 1772

⁴See Proceedings, Committee of Circuit, Cossimbazar, 28th July, 1772, also Proceedings, Council Secret Department, Fort William, 6th August, 1772

And the Council actually wrote to the Court of Directors on 3rd November, 1772 —

"At a meeting of your Council of the 30th August it was unanimously resolved to adopt the Plan, proposed by our President and Members of the Committee of Circuit of the Revenue Business to the Presidency, your Affairs under the immediate Management consequence of which we formed ourselves into a Board of Revenue the 13th Ultimo. Since that time all Affairs respecting the Collections, or internal Government of the Provinces, have been confined Solely to this Department¹". And we find from the following extract from the General Letter² from Bengal to the Court of Directors, dated 5th September, 1772, that the

withdrawn " 1

In view of what we have shown above we may say that when the Committee of Circuit approved of the "Plan for the Administration of Justice" on 15th August, 1772, it really meant by the expression "Chief Seat of Government" in Regulation 5 of the Plan, *Calcutta* and no other place

Apart from what we have stated above, there are some direct evidences, proving that both the Superior Courts of Justice were first established at Calcutta. In the first place, we find in the Proceedings of the (Council) Consultation (Revenue Department), held at Fort William on 15th December, 1772

"The Superintendent³ (of the Khalsa) acquaints the Board (i.e., the Council) that upon Enquiry into the characters and Abilities of the several Persons recommended for the *two Superior Courts of Adaulut at the Presidency*⁴ (i.e., at Fort William) . "

Also—

"As the Collectors Cutchery—and this was located at Calcutta—will be wanted for the Superior Courts of Justice", etc

Secondly, we find that in a letter⁵, dated at Fort William 6th January, 1773, the President and Council wrote to the Court of Directors .

"In our former Address of this Season—i.e., in their letter of 3rd November, 1772—we had the Honor to lay before You a Plan for the better administration of Province, e have since the trial of f Property. on for con-

¹See Secret Consultations, Fort William of August 6th and 17th 1772, also the Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit, Cosimbazar of 20th August, 1772, also the General Letter (Revenue Department) to the Court, dated at Fort William 3rd November, 1772

²See the Fifth Report from the Committee of Secrecy (House of Commons) to enquire into the Causes of the War in the Carnatic, 1782, Appendix 4

³This work has been so spelt in the relevant manuscript record

⁴Italics ours

⁵Para 5 See the General Letter (Revenue Department) to the Court of Directors dated at Fort William 6th January, 1773 It was sent by the Prince of Wales

3
Lastly, we find in Hastings's letter to Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, dated at Fort William 21st March, 1774 "Two courts were appointed in every district, one for the trial of crimes and offences, and the other to decide causes of property These Courts were made dependent on two supreme courts *which were established in the city of Calcutta*, one for ultimate reference in capital cases, the other for appeals¹". (The italics are ours)

Thus it is clear from the above that the Sudder Nizamut Adalat as well as the Sudder Diwan Adalat was first established at Calcutta. We may, therefore, say that the view of Harrington, Peter Auber and Cowell that it was first established at Moorshedabad, is wrong

We may add here that only at a Secret Consultation held at Fort William on 18th October, 1775, that the Governor General and Council decided "to remove the Nizamut adaulet *now at Calcutta to be held in future at Moorshedabad²*", so that Mahomed Reza Cawn, who was, on his virtual acquittal of the charges brought against him, "recommended" by them "to the Nabob Mobarik O'Dowla to be Naib Souba or Minister of the Sircar and Guardian of his minority, with authority to transact the Political affairs of the Sircar, to superintend the Fouzdarry Courts and the administration of Criminal Justice throughout the Country and to enforce the operation of the same on the present Establishment or to new Model and correct it" might "have full control over the officers of the Criminal Courts in the Character of Naib Souba³"

¹For further details see Gleig *Memoirs of Warren Hastings* Vol I 1841, p 401, also Keith *Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy* Vol I p 62

²Italics ours

³See Proceedings Secret Department Fort William 18th October 1775 also O C No 2 Secret 18th October 1775 also Colebrooke Supplement to the Digest of the Regulations and Laws enacted by the Governor General in Council 1807 p 125 also the Fifth Report, Select Committee 28th July 1810. We are obliged to and take this opportunity of thanking, the present Keeper of the Records of the Government of India for sending us on request, a certified copy of O C No 2, referred to in this footnote



HYDER ALI'S RELATIONS WITH THE BRITISH (1760—'67).

(Based on unpublished records in the Government Record Office, Madras)

(By Dr N K. Sinha M A, Ph. D)

At the beginning of 1760 Hyder Ali was the absolute master of Mysore the Dalawa Nandarajaya hitherto the dictator of Mysore having been completely ousted from power through Hyder's machinations and his own follies. The seven years war between France and England which was raging in Europe had its repercussions in India. Lally, hardpressed at Pondicherry was using every means to avert a catastrophe that was imminent. He approached Hyder who agreed to lend him the services of 4 000 Mysorean horse who were expected to bring provisions to the beleaguered city. The main body of the Mysore army remained at Thiagur, collecting provisions and a party got into Pondicherry but on the 18th July 1760 the main body with the convoy reached Pondicherry after inflicting a severe defeat on Major More. In this encounter the British loss was 35 Europeans killed and wounded. The British position was founded on the principle of self interest.

In the event of a favourable termination of the war the British expected to secure Trichinopoly, Madura, Tinnevely and other places.

Though the outlook for the French was so gloomy Hyder agreed to support them and he might have given the Anglo French war a very different turn. But in the meantime the monarchical party in Mysore headed by Khande rao till then a staunch supporter of Hyder had planned to drive him from power. They got the aid of a Maratha army under Visaji Pandit and Khande rao.

On the 12th August 1760 Khande rao made a dash for Bangalore with only 5 horsemen¹. He was to recover his position until May 1761. Meanwhile the British had easily disposed of the French.

To prevent Hyder from giving effective aid to the French Yusuf Khan from Tanjore was directed to make incursions into that part of Mysore which lay nearest to him and Captain Richard Smith with a part of the Trichinopoly garrison attacked and took Karur a Mysore possession². The British even thought of enlisting a body of Maratha horse to enter the Mysore country and compel Hyder to recall his forces from Pondicherry. It was only for want of money that this could not be done³. At this stage occurred the internecine struggle in which Khande had temporary advantages over Hyder. Khande rao wrote letters of friendship to the President and the Nabob of Arcot informing them that Hyder was a rebel and that it was he who had sent the troops under Mukhdum Ali to assist the French⁴. In these circumstances Hyder had to recall Mukhdum's detachment. The King of Mysore intimated to Richard Smith at Trichinopoly that he was willing to enter into an alliance with the English. Captain Smith was authorized by his Government to open negotiations to this effect but as the motive was only to gain time until the French were crushed he was to make proposals either to the King of Mysore or to Hyder.

¹ Despatches to England—31st July 1760 Paras 14 15 30

² Military Consultations—Vol 13B 1760 Page 11 7

³ Ibid—Vol 13A 1760, Page 778

⁴ Despatches to England 13rd November 1760 Para 13

⁵ Ibid—31st July 1760 Para 15

⁶ Ibid—3rd November 1760 Para 14

⁷ Military Consultations—13B 18th December 1760 Page 117

Hyder was pressed so hard by the Marathas and Khande rao that his ruin seemed imminent when most unexpectedly the Marathas agreed to depart on Hyder's ceding Baramahal and paying 3 lakhs in cash. The Marathas were also in a position to aid the French at Pondicherry and the French even offered 20 lakhs if immediately and Gingee was to be delivered up. The Nabob of Arcot settled with the Marathas for 10 lakhs to be paid in twenty days and the remainder in three months.⁸ Though Visaji Pandit thus sold himself to Muhammad Ali and Hyder Ali his withdrawal was only due to the very difficult position of the Marathas who were facing Abdali who defeated them decidedly at Panipat on the 14th January 1761. Gopal Rao was already gone⁹ and Visaji was in a hurry to depart making of course the best Pondicherry surrendered to Coote and his troops under Alain and Hugel.

With the loss of Maratha aid the king of Mysore became anxious to secure British support. In view of the growing power of Hyder and his coalition really earnest in his desire for British friendship contemplated restoration of Karur in return for their

position and were not in a mood to entertain such. Bakshi (who was near the British frontier told enemy of the British as well as his masters and that the king was very desirous of British friendship and he expected every hour to be invested with full authority to conclude a treaty of alliance. Smith wrote: He has received orders to join me should I call upon him to oppose Hyder Naik. This he assured me of and his intentions to comply. Smith further informed the President and Council: The king is a weak man. Assurance of British friendship might engage him to continue firm in his position to Hyder Naik.¹² The Nabob of Arcot also proposed that a body of troops be sent to enable the king of Mysore to reduce Hyder.¹³ But the Board resolved that the recent proofs of the loss which the French Company sus

After the triumph of Hyder over Khande rao the king of Mysore was entirely divested of the management of his country and Khande rao became a close prisoner. The whole affair left a trace of with the king of Mysore with not altogether forget that they were about to join his mortal enemies just as he had joined theirs. Letters in general terms written to him during this period remained unanswered.¹⁵

⁸ *Ibid*—14A 8th January 1761 Page 3^o

⁹ Aithuhas k Lekh Sangraha—Letters Nos 26 and 27 9th January Gopal Rao in Peshwa's Lashkar

¹⁰ Despatches to England 4th February 1761 Para 25—Military Consultations—Vol 14A. 1761 Page 15

¹¹ Military Consultations—Vol 14A 1761 Page 35

¹² *Ibid*—Page 10^o

¹³ *Ibid*—Vol 15 Page 401

¹⁴ *Ibid*

¹⁵ Military Consultations—Vol 14A Page 10^o

French influence in Hyder's camp continued to increase. Seven or eight French officers under the command of Chevalier Du Muy, Colonel and Mons De La Tour, dernaig¹⁴ Hyder had is said to have given s of the French nation which was a plea for r from this professed The Nabob of Arcot ins to enter the this had no effect his scare which began to ex province on the mun they thought it was the Nabob's interest to create

While the Madras Government and the Mysore chieftain were eyeing each other with suspicion, the Bombay people, perhaps more intent on trade, obtained from Hyder an exclusive right to purchase pepper in preference to all others and they even suggested to the Madras people that as some dispute subsisted between Hyder and the Nabob of Arcot, the President and Council should try to settle it¹⁵. They were so very friendly to Hyder that they even supplied him some cannon, gunpowder and firearms when he pressed urgently for aid in men and stores at the time of Madhava Rao's expedition (1763—1765) and this at the risk of antagonising the great Peshwa. Their argument was that they could not afford him to lose Bidnur and Sunda countries in which he had given them valuable privileges¹⁶.

A noticeable feature of south Indian history during these years was the enmity between Hyder Ali and Muhammad Ali. Apart from the personal dislike which must have been very intense, there were many other points at issue. The territorial dispute concerned the following districts—Dindigul Karur, Kcdumudi, Uttamapalayam, Palni, Virupakshi and Pallappatti. When Chanda Saheb was taken prisoner and put to death, there was a foudard under him at Dindigul who agreed with the Mysoreans to deliver these places for a sum of money and other presents. But between 1682—1730 these districts were dependant on Trichinopoly. Towards the end of the reign of Queen Minakshi of Trichinopoly, Karur and Kcdumudy had been seized by the Mysoreans. They were retaken by Chanda Saheb, Muhammad Ali therefore thought that he had every right to these places and the Mysoreans ought to surrender them²⁰. In 1760 when Hyder helped the French, Smith took Karur and it was given to Muhammad Ali. Hyder agreed to deliver up Malpaddy which he had taken and wanted Karur back. He met with a rebuff. He was told Caroor was taken by us at a time when he had joined the French and had made himself a party in the national war and the supplies he sent to Pondicherry enabled them to hold out longer than they could otherwise have done. It was but reasonable that we should keep Karoor as a conquest made from them or their allies who had without any reason taken it as a reward for s res- else g it. Agreeing at part of this expense being charged to the Nabob it was but just that he should share in the advantages our arms had gained and therefore Caroor was

¹⁴ *Ibid*—Vol 16 Page 1 1 : January, 1760

¹⁵ *Ibid*—Page, 3

¹⁶ *Ibid*—Page, 3

¹⁷ .

¹⁸ .

11th August, 1763

delivered up to him. The Nabob might indeed claim it by another title²¹. The Nabob of Arcot also advanced some claims to the Cuddapah country which Hyder was absorbing into his own dominions.

Besides these territorial disputes there were other causes of friction. British troops were cantoned at Vellore to the grave irritation of Hyder. He naturally regarded this with apprehension²². Hyder entertained in his service Raja Saheb, the son of Chanda Saheb, Muhammad Ali's mortal enemy. He also gave shelter to Maphuz Khan, the elder brother and as such a potential enemy of Muhammad Ali. But even all this might not have led to war but for bungling British diplomacy. Hyder himself explained that the situation was not irretrievable. He wrote "What reason has the governor to be displeased at Mauphuz Cawn's coming. If a firm friendship is established between the governor and me, I know how to give him a proper answer"²³.

The President and Council of Bombay informed the government of Fort St George on the 4th April, 1766, that in his last invasion of the Malabar country Hyder had attacked some of the powers with whom the Bombay Government were in alliance. They judged from some circumstances in his conduct that they might be under the necessity of coming into a rupture with him. They made a request that in such a case the Madras Government should be ready to assist them in their operation against Mysore²⁴. Madras in reply advised them to accomodate with Hyder because they were endeavouring to avail themselves "of the grant of the circars contrary to the inclinations of the soubah who had earnestly desired assistance from Hyder Ali to dispossess us". Therefore in case hostilities were started against Hyder, he was sure to join Nizam Ali and this would prevent their bringing Nizam to terms²⁵. This was in May, 1766. In July Hyder made an offer through his vakil. He expressed his desire to live on the most friendly terms with the English. He made his offer in the following words—"I have got a large force. The English have²⁶ can do nothing
ance and if on r
the governor and if he is of the same opinion and if the gentlemen of the Council agree thereto, the settling it cannot be managed by a correspondence of letters for which reason you should bring a proper Gentleman and a letter under the seal of the 7 Council²⁷ send Bourchier, a member of the Ma
Hyder²⁸ A letter from the Nabob to
the Payenghat and
be established"²⁹
Hyder's intentions,
the British not believing in the reality of the proposed offer. About defensive alliance Bourchier was told "Nothing more particular should be engaged than in these general terms that their friends and enemies shall be the same³⁰ we shall be ready to give him assistance provided the peace of this country will admit of it"³¹.

But Hyder was also negotiating with Nizam Ali and Bouchier could receive no certain intelligence of the place and time of interview. He had to return to Madras without even interviewing Hyder. The President and Council of Madras apprehended that Hyder and Nizam Ali had entered into an alliance to invade the Carnatic. This open rebuff, Hyder's return to Coimbatore without so much as sending an answer to the letters made the Madras people more forward in their overtures to the Nizam.²⁹ They hoped to steal a march over Hyder. The British envoy received his rebuff early in August and Ciliaud's treaty with the Nizam was signed on the 12th November. On the 18th November the President and Council of Madras wrote letters to Bombay and Tellicherry to the following effect. We may be prevailed on to assist (the Nizam) in reducing the Mysore Government within its ancient and proper bounds and which we cannot but look upon as a favourable opportunity of checking the ambitious designs of a man from whose violence immense conquests riches and power the peace of the Nabob's dominions is liable to be disturbed and indeed his refusing to admit Mr Bouchier who set out to negotiate with him sufficiently evinces how little desirous he was of our friendship and alliance and that nothing but proceeding to extremities can bring him to reason.³⁰

Apprehending a concerted attack as a consequence of the treaty between the

to conceal their real intention as much as possible. The President acquainted the Nizam that it was the constant care of the British Government to live on terms of friendship with every government but that they could not but be alarmed at his master's doubtful conduct which had put them to a considerable expense in drawing their troops from different parts but they were well pleased to find him inclinable to adopt peaceable measures.³¹

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Bombay Government on
and privileges they had
Penny South and they
were not to suffer any impediment or molestation in any other settlements in this region. In all matters of trade and business the English were to have preference. Clause 12 of the proposed treaty provided that Hyder was not to enter into any alliance contrary to the interest of the Company neither must he attack any other country powers in alliance with the Company and more particularly the Nabob of Arcot and the king of Travancore. Hyder evaded this clause and himself put forward his demand in the following words. Whenever the Honourable Company may be in want of troops I will furnish them with 10/15 000 men from the Sarcar and on the contrary should the Sarcar be in such necessity the Honourable Company are to supply me in like manner as is consistent with our firm friendship and is also the cause of dread to our enemies.³² Here we have also the same proposal of a defensive alliance.

This Bombay project failed on account of the same reasons that prevented a rapprochement between Madras and Mysore. British policy taking a definitely anti-Hyder tone. The Madras Government objected to the proposed treaty as inconsistent with the treaty they had made with the Nizam. The curious part of the whole business was the foolish British belief as expressed in the letter from Madras to

²⁹ Despatches to England 2nd Feb. 1766 Para 71

³⁰ Military Consultations—Vol 24 Page 615

³¹ Military Consultations—Vol 24 Page 649

³² *Ibid*—Vol 26A Pages 16 20

Bombay We flatter ourselves that he will look upon our alliance with the Soubah in the same light as he did formerly that of the French who frequently attended the Soubah in his expeditions to Mysore, yet Hyder Ali continued in friendship with Pondicherry ' 33

The Nizam advanced with his British auxiliaries into the Mysore country. Madhava Rao his ally was already plundering other parts of Mysore. But Hyder did not give up his attempts to win the Nizam over. Maphuz Khan was sent with 50 000 pagodas and some elephants as a present to the Nizam. Sonpat Rao who had been the Dewan of Anwaruddin was also with the Nizam. Among the influential courtiers Sher Jung showed his decided dislike of the English treaty ' 34. The flattering offers of Hyder Ali and the influence of these three friends of Hyder, converted the vacillating Nizam from an anti Mysore to a pro Mysore attitude. With a weak resolution so fettered by a thousand considerations that it had hardly any existence the reconversion of the Nizam was not difficult. The British now found themselves in a morass from which they found it impossible to extricate themselves. The situation can be illustrated from a letter written to Smith who was commanding the English detachment accompanying the Nizam. The President and the Council of Madras wrote— If all the arguments and any other you can

him to remain with his whole army will leave a part to act in conjunction with us and in that case we shall endeavour by means of the Marathas to accomplish the end proposed by the expedition. In case he cannot leave any troops that you hope he will have no objection to our entering into an agreement with Madhava Rao to assist each other against Hyder Ali. This however must be touched on in a light manner and if you perceive it raises jealousies or distrust of your intention you are to endeavour to remove them by the strongest assurances that we never mean to lose sight of our connection with the Soubah ' 35

But the utter failure of the diplomacy of the Madras Government became more visible when Lt. Tod sent to the camp of Madhava Rao submitted his report. He wrote— I blush when I think of the degree of contempt I was treated with, considering my station and those I represented. Nevertheless I kept my temper, showed as little sign of disgust as possible ' 36. Madhava Rao concluded a separate treaty

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in its ancient and proper bounds as well as check the designs of a man dangerous to the peace and tranquility of the Carnatic ' 37. But now they found that before any defensive plan had matured and arrangements made for adequate provisions they had to face the Nizam Hyder combination. Their hollow alliances and diplomatic counterplots were foiled completely by Hyder who made them appear to be ridiculous *

³³ *Ibid*

³⁴ *Ibid*—Vol 261. Pages 65 and 101

³⁵ *Ibid*—Page 213. Para 5

³⁶ *Ibid*—Page 281

³⁷ Despatches to England—22nd February 1767. Para 75

* I take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to the Curator Madras Record Office and his staff for the facilities I got there in studying the records

THE SETTLEMENT OF DACCA, SYLHET AND TIPPERAH IN 1772.

[By Dr. A. P. Das Gupta, M A, Ph D (Lond)]

The objects of the appointment of the Committee of Circuit in 1772, and the quinquennial settlement of the lands of Nadia and Rajshahi made by the Committee have been dealt with in papers previously published¹. It is proposed to describe here the settlement by the Committee of the lands in the Dacca district including the arrangements arrived at for Sylhet, Tipperah and Chittagong.

The Committee of Circuit arrived at Dacca on the 1st October, 1772. Advertisement had already been made for proposals for farming the lands, but the Committee found that up to that time no proposal had been received. The Committee thereupon issued fresh notice extending the period of receiving proposals to the 5th of Kartik². In the meanwhile the Committee decided to busy itself with the papers relating to the revenues of the district which had up to the time reached it. Already on the 11th July, 1772³ the Committee had required the Collector of Dacca to advise "whether the Talookdary lands of your district have ever had their value ascertained by a hustabook, and if they have not, we desire you will immediately appoint proper persons, to make such a valuation as without this it will be impossible to make a proper settlement of the revenue, or determine on the rights, and privileges of the talookdars." The Collector, Mr Grueber, had frankly admitted the difficulties of the task. He had transmitted certain accounts relating to the revenues but with the remark that very little dependence could be placed on those accounts, because "time would not admit of aumeens being sent into the mofussil to collect and bring the original papers there was therefore a necessity of taking such statements from the Zemindars as they were pleased to deliver in and as it is so essential to their interest to conceal from us the real amount they collect as also the quantity of land that pays no revenue in the pargannahs, I do not entertain a doubt but that in all these accounts they have rendered very fallacious statements. Neither do I appre-

evidence, that the Committee considered these accounts suitable to serve as a working basis. As a matter of fact the Committee had no other option but to work on these figures. Local investigation of the kind suggested would have taken time during which it was not possible for the Committee to wait.

After a second extension of the time for receiving proposals, the Committee, on the 23rd October, found that a sufficient number of proposals had arrived for the Dacca lands to enable them to proceed with their settlement on the most advantageous terms⁴. In conformity to the resolutions adopted by the Committee on the

¹ The author's papers on 'The Committee of Circuit at Krishnagar' read before the Indian Historical Records Commission at Calcutta in 1939 and on the 'Settlement of Rajshahi in 1772' read before the Indian History Congress in December 1939.

² Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit at Dacca 3rd October 1772 ap. Proceedings of the Committee Vol IV published by Government of Bengal 1926, p. 1.

³ Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit at Kasimbazar 11th July 1772 ap. Proceedings of the Committee Vol I II and III published by Government of Bengal 1926 p. 47.

⁴ Grueber to Committee—14 Aug 1772—Proc of 8 Oct 1772 *Idem* Vol IV—p. 21.

⁵ Minutes of Consultation—Proc of 23 Oct 1772—*Idem* p. 68.

20th July 1772 at Kasimbazar to which it thought there is the greatest reason for

of the broken year from its being so far elapsed and one of the harvests concluded

terms with the same persons (6)

By the 15th of November the settlement of the lands of the Dacca district was finally concluded and the necessary documents executed. The Dacca lands were settled at S R 2730239 for 1178 S R 60540 were deducted on account of abolition of Zemindary ghats etc. The jama fixed by the Committee for 1178 therefore amounted to S R 2669698. The revenue agreed to be paid for the Dacca lands clear of all charges for the next five years was as follows —

1179	.	.	.	.	S R 2970503
1180	.	.	.	.	S R 3187058
1181	.	.	.	.	S R 306387
1182	.	.	.	.	S R 3208472
1183	.	.	.	.	S R 3209514

Thus the total increase expected in five years was S R 539816 (?)

For Luckypore the jama fixed by the Committee amounted to S R 326786 for 1178 rising to S R 386339 for 1183 the total increase in five years being S R 59553 (?)

For Sundeeep the jama for 1178 was fixed at S R 63795 rising upto 77974 for 1183 the total increase amounting to 14174 (?) One fourth of Sundeeep was let out to Md Hossein Chowdhury and three fourths to Jaynarayan Ghosal¹⁰

Collectorship of Dacca was now split up. The islands reannexed and the district of Tipperah reannexed

Certain parganas lying to the east of the river Megna and South of the Dakylah yielding a yearly revenue of 3½ lakhs of rupees were formed into a new Collectorship
wa Jugder Gopalpore,
ndy 2 parts Sangdy,

The Committee also discussed whether the two departments Huzoor Department and Nizamut Department which had hitherto been preserved in making the collections should be allowed to continue. The Committee were of opinion that such distinct arrangement is by no means absolutely necessary towards the success

⁶ Ibid

⁷ Vide table appended to Proc of 27 Nov 1772—*Idem* p 159

⁸ Ibid

⁹ Ibid

¹⁰ *Idem* p 169. Interesting particulars about Jaynarayan Ghosal are furnished in Dr. S N Sen's article entitled 'A Bengali Man 150 years old' in *Bharatvarsha Bhadra* 1347

¹¹ Committee to Pt & Council of Revenue—¹⁸ Oct 1772—*Idem* pp 78-79

of the collections, but out of tenderness and consideration to the great age and faithful services of the Naib Jessarut Khan and the steady attachment and humanity which he has at different times testified towards our nation during periods of distress and public calamity.

"The Committee.....recommend. that the division of the collections which has hitherto prevailed should be continued during the life of the present naib" ¹²

The Committee went carefully into the accounts of the expenses chargeable on the Dacca revenues and reduced them from S R 2,81,102 to S R 2,22,445 thereby effecting a savings of S R 58,657 annually ¹³ Hari Mallik was appointed Dewan of the Dacca district on an allowance of Rupees 1,000 per month ¹⁴

The papers relating to the district of Sylhet which were placed before the Committee by William Makepeace Thackeray showed that the collections were considerably in arrears. The Dewan had informed Thackeray that this "was owing to the want of a proper influence over the zemindar . . each zemindar was constantly evading payment, and never failed to take advantage of every opportunity which might serve as an excuse to retard the collections. Indeed there are one or two considerable Zemindars who consider (sic) themselves in a manner independent, who seems to be entirely ignorant of the nature of the Company and who have no fixed rules for their conduct" The charges on the Sylhet revenues were also very high amounting to as much as 50 per cent of the revenues. Thackeray suggested that the revenues could be increased by realisation of arrears and reduction of charges and proposed the same.

On the spot ¹⁵ The Committee a Company's servant to reside in or the following purposes, First, to which owing to the distance of any immediate inspection appear to be extremely backward. Secondly, to investigate the exorbitant charges which it appears may admit of considerable retrenchment and produce an handsome increase of revenue. Thirdly, to establish a regular judicial authority to which the inhabitants may be amenable (sic) and have an opportunity to rely for redress of their grievances. Fourthly, to ingratiate thereby the affections of the ryots and bring them into a state of more civilized subjection to the Company government. Fifthly (sic) to facilitate (sic) and increase the provision of chunam ¹⁶ W M Thackeray was nominated Collector at Sylhet, and was instructed to exert his utmost to realise the arrear and to investigate without loss of time the extravagant charges with a view to their reduction wherever possible ¹⁷

Proposals having been received from Dessyram and some other inhabitants of Sylhet offering an increase of S R. 20,000 in the first year over the sudder revenue

18 M. A. C. C.

m p 81

0 Oct 1772 *Idem* pp 31 32

43 45

of S R 98,621 and additional increase of S R 2,500 every year for the four following years (i.e. total increase of 125,000 Rs in five years),¹⁸ the Committee were of opinion that the proposals offered for farming Sylhet were "highly advantageous for inhabitants of the district the farmers, their families them to promote the pros-

perity and improvement of the lands and the welfare and ease of the reats" The proposals were therefore accepted and Mr. Thackeray was authorised to conclude the settlement with the persons who tendered them. Sunnunderam Roy was appointed Dewan of Sylhet.¹⁹ The Committee in reporting to Calcutta the settlement of Sylhet informed that, "the farmer by the conditions of his lease is bound to support the several thanas and chokies for the protection of the district, and to defray the expense thereof until such time however as the collector's authority has been properly established and the peace of the district secur'd from the incursions of the adjacent petty Zemindars. We think that a party of sepoy's will be found absolutely necessary, when these ends have been effected they may be hereafter withdrawn or at least greatly diminished."²⁰

The bundobast of Tipperah, known as the chuckla of Roshenabad, the Zemindary of Rajah Radhakrishna Marikya had been settled in 1178 by Mr Middleton with Nityananda Sirgh as adadar for the term of three years on the following conditions —

For the year 1178	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,45 000
For the year 1179	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,55 000
For the year 1180	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,65 000

12,000 Rs was to be deducted on account of the expenses of the Rajah and 7,200 Rs as the adadar's security from the bundobast of each year and the remainder remitted to the Khalsa.²¹ Nityananda now applied for permission to be relieved of his Wadadari on the ground that he would not be able to discharge the bundobast if the chuckla was now farmed out for five years. The Committee accepted his resignation and issued advertisements for proposals for farming the district. The Collector was asked to call upon Nityananda for his revenue to the end of Kartik and to oblige him to pay it up without balance.²² Within a short time the Committee received offers from the Rajah himself for farming the district and tendering one Ramkrishna Bose to be his security. The revenue offered to be paid clear of all charges was Rs 1,43,000 for 1179 and Rs 1,53,000 for each of the four following years. The offer was an increase of Rs 10,000 for 1179 over the bundobast with Nityananda and produced an increase of Rs 20,000 in five years. The Committee readily accepted the proposals and the amalnama, Kabuliast, and Kistbunde were accordingly executed.²³

The figures given by Charles Bentley, the Collector of Chittagong, showed the total amount of revenues from the Chittagong district to be Curr't Rs 5,28,259. Of this sum the asal juma amounted to Rs 4 19,757.²⁴ Bentley was of opinion that unless some prehs which subsisted found even in the

¹⁸ Thackeray to Committee—16 Oct 1772—Proc of 20 Oct 1772 *Idem* p 65

¹⁹ *Idem* p 66.

m—3 Nov 1772—*Idem* p 97

Bengalee records. Zemundars, the Collector reported, 'are possessed of different districts here and there chiefly of the most fruitful and best cultivated parts of different chucklahs and purgunnahs which have been thrown into a general measurement without any distinction of place and entered as to many dones of ground upon our histebood at a certain annual fixed rent' He suggested that "these several districts" should be formed into nine chaklas and a new hustabood prepared showing the number of Zemindars attached to each chakla, the measurement of their lands as well as of the Nyut and charity lands and the total annual revenue of such chakla. This would enable the farmer to have full information and would induce him to raise his proposals. Some months would elapse before the new arrangement

during their stay at Dacca and on the 18th November 1772 reported to the President and Council of Revenue at Fort William

"The season being now too far advanced to admit of our proceeding to Chittagong and of our completing also the circuit of the remaining districts it was our intention to have convey'd to the Collector the necessary instructions from the plan

on must precede the settlement and will it is evident consume the whole of the remainder of the present Bengal year, we think there would be an impropriety in our without previously submitting it to your consideration the whole of the Collector's letters for that purpose such instructions as you shall think proper to give may be conveyed directly to the Collector to be carried into execution"

On the 27th November the Committee minuted on their proceedings that their work at Dacca had now been finally concluded upwards of ten days, that they had delayed issuing the final orders to the several collectors in expectation of the answer of the Council of Revenue to their former letters and that taking now into consideration "the great advance of the season, the settlements still to be made of the districts of Rungpore, Dinagepore, Purneah Beglepor and Ravamah the Committee are unanimously of opinion that a longer delay in finishing their business at this place and proceeding to execute the further objects of their mission might not only affect the collections in these parts but also prove of material prejudice to the settlement of the districts they have still to visit"

The Committee therefore resolved that the accounts of the settlement be now recorded and the necessary orders issued and should the directions of the Hon'ble the President and Council when received occasion any alteration to be made therein that the same be accordingly notified in supplemental letters to the respective collectors

Thus the Committee wound up its business at Dacca and on the 28th November 1772 proceeded to Rangpur to carry on the further objects of their circuit

¹¹ Bentley to Committee—29 Aug 1772—Proc of 3 Oct 1772—*Idem* p 11

¹² *Idem* p 128

¹³ Proc of 27 Nov. 1772—*Idem* pp 157 158

¹⁴ *Idem* p 167



CLIVE AND THE JUNIOR CIVIL SERVANTS.

(By Dr Nandalal Chatterji, M A , Ph D , D Litt ,)

Clive's attitude towards the Company's junior civil servants has not received sufficient notice at the hands of historians. While it is generally known that the Company's civil service could not be effectively reformed by Clive, it is usually ignored that his failure was due mainly to circumstances beyond his control.

From one of his letters hitherto ignored one gets a glimpse of Clive's idea about the junior members of the civil service. (*Vide* Bengal Select Committee—Letter to the Court of Directors March 24, 1766) I shall quote a few lines to explain Clive's attitude —

“ your service here has always been carried on rather from a dread of punishment than a sense of duty , and that at present no branch of your affairs is conducted with that alacrity and zeal necessary and essential to your interest, to which we should conceive all your servants would be naturally excited, by the uncommon advantages they enjoy ”.

This state of affairs was ascribed to the Company's servants to high offices. He urged, ‘ measure, ascribe to a practice which at any other, of entrusting some of the most weighty employments in your service to gentlemen scarce arrived at years of maturity. The business of the Secretary's department was committed to a youth of three years standing in our service the employment of Accountant is now discharged by a writer still lower in the list of your servants the important trusts of Military Store Keeper, Naval Store Keeper, and Store keeper of the Works were bestowed when left vacant upon writers, and a writer held the post of Paymaster to the Army at a period when near 20 lakhs of rupees had been deposited for months together in his hands ’

Clive sums up thus, “ reposing trusts of so important and lucrative a nature in the hands of youngmen hath rendered them too soon independent, and given birth to that spirit of dissipation and luxury, of which you were very justly informed. From this source likewise flowed a grievance of the utmost consequence to your service which demands an immediate remedy. The younger servants being incapable themselves to discharge the functions of their several offices, were forced to have recourse to their Banians and black writers. Too strict a regard to promoting seniority will ever prove injurious to the service, notwithstanding the rule is convenient and equitable under certain exceptions and limitations ’

Clive was aware of the fact that the principal source of corruption in the civil service was low salaries. It is interesting to note that he believed that one could not live in India on less than ten times the salary that was actually given to the civil servants. This was no doubt due to the prevalence of extravagance and luxury, but was in some measure due to rising prices as well. The authorities thus write about it to the Directors “ when you have duly considered the many restrictions now imposed on your junior servants when you reflect upon the exorbitant

we hope it will appear to
was proportioned to the
re now deprived the bene-
faries annexed to double
to your bare monthly al-
to secure them against the

necessity of incurring debts that have a bad influence upon their morals by entangling them in difficulties, from which every means will naturally be tried to extricate themselves For these reasons we exhort you that a competent subsistence may be established for your junior servants and more especially the writers who have no claim to Dustucks" (*vide* Home Department Bengal Public Letters to the Court of Directors 1766 67, p 300)

As Clive had no authority to raise the low salaries, he set up, and this has generally been ignored by historians, a committee to institute some form of censorship over the private expenses of the junior civil servants The regulations (*vide* Home Department—Bengal Public Letters to the Court of Directors 1767 68, pp 119 20) framed in this connection by this committee have not received the attention they deserve They are highly interesting and will amuse the present day members of the Indian Civil Service They are as follows —

"1 With respect to the servants necessary to be kept by a writer without a family, the Committee are of opinion that he should be allowed two and a cook, one for the immediate care of his house and charge of his effects, and another to attend him when he goes out or to assist in the charge of his effects and house in case of sickness of the other "

"2 It is recommended that an order be issued that no writer shall be allowed to keep a horse without the express permission of the Governor and be permitted either of himself or jointly with others to keep a garden house "

"3 It is further recommended that the writers be enjoined to wear no other than plain clothes "

In his farewell letter (*Vide* Foreign Department—Bengal Select Committee Proceedings 1767, p 34) to the Select Committee, Clive expressed his pious hope

WARREN HASTINGS AS A PLAINTIFF.

(By Mr. O. P. Bhatnagar, M.A.)

and equity in the original in which Warren Hastings, during the years (1772-1785) figured as a plaintiff. His is a most colourful personality and in spite of several works on him a really comprehensive one is still wanting. We know that he was the only Governor General who was attacked most in the Council and he had no end of trouble. The unworkable clauses of the Regulating Act were no doubt responsible for impeding the task of administration but opposition to Warren Hastings was also due to other causes. It is not my purpose here to discuss them at length. On the basis of the records I have consulted, I come to the conclusion that in his private capacity he did not properly maintain the dignity of the high office, he hurried many a time of cases, his sub

found that Warren Hastings in 1782 he filed a suit against Hickey's Gazette. In his had published 'false feigned ed by Hastings as libellous e (meaning the said Warren

Hastings) was observed for several days to have a confounded rueful face in consequence as it is supposed of his (Warren Hastings) having greatly over-reached in a recent treaty with an able Mahratta plenipotentiary and further that 'many people think that the Quixote' has been made an April Fool of and that his crest is fallen

In another petition filed on the 8th of March, reference was made to another libellous passage "At the new theatre near the Court House is now in rehearsal a tragedy called 'Tyranny in full bloom or the Devil to pay', with the farce 'All on the wrong' Warren Hastings claimed damages to the value of one hundred thousand sicca rupees, saying that his prestige had been lowered by such scandalous remarks. The case was won by Warren Hastings and he was awarded rupees ten thousand as compensation along with rupees five hundred and seventy six as costs (common law Hastings vs Hickey Nos 2398 and 2399)

In another case Warren Hastings figured as a creditor. He filed a suit through his attorney Thomas Raban complaining against one Manick Dass an inhabitant settled in the City of Calcutta, who was to render to him (Warren Hastings) a sum of four thousand Arcot rupees which he owed him (Warren Hastings). The application was filed on the 20th of September 1791. The sum had been borrowed in 1774. Manick Dass submitted a petition through his attorney William Johnson declaring himself a pauper. He admitted that he had borrowed a sum of rupees two thousand from Warren Hastings at ten per cent rate of interest. The sum had been lent to Manick Dass for fighting a case against one Alexander Johnson. This case had been filed in the Mayor's Court in 1772 and was transferred to the Supreme Court when it came into existence. Manick Dass put forward the plea that since the case of Alexander had not so far been decided and had been pending Warren Hastings could not claim the sum before the case had been fully decided. Common law Hastings vs Manick Dass No 5678)

This case reveals two interesting things that Warren Hastings had personal interest in the case against Alexander Johnson which had been filed by Manick Dass at the instigation of Warren Hastings. The Crown also, moved very slowly. The Court had come into existence as when Warren Hastings filed a suit against even ceased to be the Governor General of India.

There is another case in which Warren Hastings again figured as a creditor. Thomas Gladwin Sr. and Thomas Gladwin Jr. a captain in trading to the East Indies and Sir Robert Barker of Spring Gardens Westminster branch, who were associated with the Governor General. They filed a suit through their attorney William Smoult against one Francis Gladwin for the recovery of debts. Duly executed bonds were produced as evidence. A paper bearing the signature of one William Jackson showed that the defendant had taken money from the plaintiffs in 1780. A sum of forty thousand had been borrowed by Francis Gladwin on ten per cent rate of interest. This case again as we see, came up before the Supreme Court after Warren Hastings had left India. (Common law. Hastings vs Gladwin No 3603). We do not know exactly as to how this case was disposed of since papers in its connection are wanting.

The catalogue of the original side includes quite a large number of cases in which Warren Hastings was involved, but papers regarding majority of cases are either misplaced or lost.

Mofussil Special Commission in the North Western Provinces

(1821—1829)

[By Mr R N Nagar, M A]

The Mofussil Special Commission was established (by the Regulation I of 1821, and abolished in the year 1829) as a result of the vigorous and persistent observations of high officers like Stuart Robertson and others¹ Stuart was the first to suggest the formation of a commission. They made the Government² realise the disastrous consequences of the Sales Law, which had been so blatantly utilised by subordinate Indian Officers for their own enrichment to the ruin of thousands of zamindars and other land owners. They advocated redress to the ousted proprietors and urged for an inquiry into the various tenures rights and usages of the agricultural community.

Thus the commission was formed³ for the investigation and decision of certain claims to recover possession of land illegally or wrongfully disposed off by public sale or lost through private transfer effected by undue influences and for the corrections and omissions of the proceedings adopted by the revenue officers in regard to the record and recognition of proprietary rights and the ascertainment of tenures interests and privileges of the agricultural community. The Commission was placed under the supervision of the Sadar Special Commission which was stationed at Fort Williams.

The position of the Commission was very difficult and anomalous. It had no regular code of procedure or judgment for its guidance — In⁴ all matters not specifically provided for in these rules or in the Regulations of 1821 and 1823 the mode of proceedings shall be conformable to the rules in force in the Court of Justice but when inapplicable or productive of delay and inconvenience to the parties the Commission will proceed to apply a remedy pointed out by clause II Section VII Regulation I 1821.

Then there was no precedent before it. The Commissioners observed⁵ 'Nothing can be more hazardous, in questions of fact than to decide in one case from the analogy of another.

⁶ The difficulty of procuring sufficient or reliable evidence was, also very great. All the pergunah records were destroyed which alone were capable of throwing any light on the subject. The existent records also were not quite reliable as they had been systematically misapplied with. People⁷ were hesitant in running up to the Courts and when⁸ a plaintiff did come forward he was often confronted with numerous and confusing claims of subordinate share holders.

Then the greatest anomaly was that when the principles underlying the rights and tenures were not previously known how could the claims of various natures be specified? For instance unless it was known that Muqaddams possessed similar superior or inferior rights to a Zamindar how could the extent or nature of his possessions be decided?

1 Minute 29th September 1820

2 Preamble of Regulation I 1821

3 Revenue letter from the Bengal Government to the Honble Court of Directors

4 Letter to Mr Molony, Secy., Sadar Special Commission from the Mofussil Special Commissioners 25th February 1824

5 Letter to Mr Molony

6 Letter to Mr Molony by W W Bird a Member of the Mofussil Special Commission

7 Minute by Mr Strachey Fifth Committee Report

8 Letter to Mr Molony 25th February 1824

Further, the Commission was not furnished with adequate means to carry out its work. The Mofussil Commissioners pointed out to the Sadar Commission,¹ "It is impossible, as long as Commission consists but of two members, each of whom is to record his sentiments on every point, that both inquiries should be conducted simultaneously"—It² was not provided with the assistance of European or Indian Officers for the conduct of its duties.

Nor, were the rules and regulations carefully drawn up. The Commissioners³ observed that a total difference of opinion existed between them and the Sadar Special Commission in regard to the several of the provisions contained in Regulation I, 1821.

It was not to be wondered at, therefore, that in face of such serious limitations, the Commission could not make progress satisfactorily. The following figures give an idea of the amount of work conducted

At Cawnpore

1 ⁴	Date	Cases pending	Fresh cases	Decided on merits	Adjusted or with drawn	Total
	1st April, 1821	201	0	1	2	258
	1st May, 1821	28	87	9	11	334 (One decide by default.)
	1st July, 1821	357	30	19	10	394
	1st October	384	2	22	1	361 (Two by default)

At Allahabad.

	1st August, 1823	89	20	0	0	109
	1st February, 1823	77	7	0	1	83
	1st April, 1823	85	2	0	0	87
	1st May, 1823	87	0	0	0	87
	1st June, 1823	87	1	0	0	88
	1st July, 1823	88	1	0	0	89
	1st January, 1827	355	9	5	0	359 *(395 Patta-dari claim)
	1st January	328	2	5	0	325 *(418 Patta-dari.)
	1st January	193	1	11	0	183 *(Claims Patta-dari 308)

¹ Letter to Mr. Molony, 13th February 1826

² Minute by Mr. Christian, Member Mofussil Special Commission.

³ Letter to Mr. Molony, 26th August 1822

⁴ Abstract statements of causes decided by the Mofussil Special Commission

*These claims were not separately specified.

Following are the figures from the work done by individual members

Cases decided adjusted or withdrawn

Date	1st Member	2nd	3rd
June 18 th 8	30	24	14
July 18 8	2	24	22
September 18 th 8	23	25	29
October 18 th 8	21	21	7
November 18 th 8		21	8
January 18 th 9	21	21	5

These figures portray interesting conclusions. Progress even of the first object of the Commission namely decision and investigation of cases of sales of land brought before it was unsatisfactory as is clear from the proportion of pending cases to those decided by the Commission.

The most striking fact is the gradual and sometimes sharp decline in each successive month or year in the number of fresh cases brought before it. No explanation has been given for it but it is possible that when more work was piled up fewer petitions were entertained. Indeed there is evidence to show that sometimes petitions were dismissed on mere grounds of formalities, or without¹ even a discussion of their merits.

It may also be concluded that seeing how few were the cases decided and how much their decision was delayed people kept aloof from it. The number of cases pending or freshly instituted at Allahabad was comparatively small specially when the permutation of land was very extensive there also.

A perusal of the judgments delivered reveals us several striking facts.

These pages are a gloomy but irrefutable commentary on the preceding period—from 1801 to 1810. They show how vast and deep laid were the conspiracies of subordinate Indian Officers mainly Tehsildars to defraud people of their lawful possessions by dishonest sales auctions and purchases of land through their own interference which had gone on unchecked under the colossal ignorance and ineffective control of the collectors. Estates could be sold for a trifling sum of two rupees. A government officer could amass in the course of an year an estate which paid a five figures revenue.

But they display without a doubt that the judgments were carefully and diligently delivered and that serious wrongs were redressed after a great lapse of time.

These statements are so clear and informative that they together with other records concerning the Commission can be well utilised for the weaving of a historical account of the preceding period.

While taking stock of the whole situation one fact juts out prominently. It is that the amount of work done in contrast to its objects was unsatisfactory and that its efficiency or efficacy could have been increased by

¹ Letter to Molony 5th July, 1826

enlarging its scope¹ It ought to have been provided with respectable Indian Officers who a one could have led it into the labrynths of various tenures rights and privileges which were far too complicated for an outsider to understand Failing that European Assistants ought to have been provided with When it was employing 88 subordinate servants and spending over eight thousand rupees per month on the maintenance of its office alone an addition of assistants would not have proved a drain while it would have assuredly increased its efficiency considerably When the whole machinery of the revenue department backed by Regulation VII 1822 failed to achieve a similar object how could have a temporary tribunal fulfilled the high responsibilities set before it?

The relations between the Mofussil and Sadar Special Commissions also did not seem to have been clearly defined This is clear from the correspondence that had gone on between them and the occasions upon which the former addressed the Government when points of disagreement became untenable It was as late as in 1828 that the Government intimated the Sadar Commission² "Your decisions in questions of jurisdiction are final This must have delayed judgments in many a case

Indeed the accumulation of a large number of cases must have³ led to a suspense and consequent disruption of agriculture

The redress had undoubtedly come late Owing⁴ to their ignorance of the arts and contrivance by which their lands had been wrested from them and the length of time which had elapsed the petitions presented to the Commission by the injured parties were obscure and defective in their statements Hence justice could not be meted out to them

It was also certainly arguable that now when the estates in many cases had passed hands why should the present owners who had spent all their labour and money on them have been deprived of their means of livelihood for no fault of their own and that the instruments of these ills should have been allowed to escape adequate punishment?

The Regulation seemed to be premature⁵ in one sense that unless something of the tenures and rights of the agricultural community was known on what principles could the various claims be specified? On what could the investigations be based upon? How could the various pretensions or conflicts be cleared up? The knowledge about them had been meagre and uncertain The inquiries as regards both the objects of the Commission had to be conducted simultaneously That made its position anomalous and its task so difficult that the decision and investigation of the cases alone took the major time of the Commission and that too was limited to the two districts of Allahabad and Cawnpore

But considering the circumstances that it was placed in we must acknowledge the great good done by the Commission In fairness to it it should be mentioned that Mr Bird⁶ refuted Ross's allegations by pointing that the average of the Commission in deciding cases per month had been 14

¹ For instance cases of similar nature happening after 1810 were not entertained by the Commission

² Letter from Mackenzie Secretary to Government to Sadar Special Commission

³ Letters issued February 1821—December 1821 Folio I

⁴ Government Records 1821

⁵ Letter by W W Bird 13th February 1826

⁶ Letter by W W Bird 10th July 1825 This letter ought to have been published along side of the Minute of Mr Ross in the Government Revenue Records 1821

and not 8, and that many pattidari claims had been investigated into. It also pointed out the past blunder of the Government in applying¹ English names to Indian titles—a notion which had resulted in a good deal of confusion. It corrected² mistakes then prevalent concerning the rights and tenures of Muqaddams, Mahks Zamindars and so on. It unfolded unhesitatingly details about a period which had hitherto been shrouded in ignorance and which forced Mr Holt Mackenzie Secretary to the Government to confess, when questioned before the Joint Select Committee of the House of Commons, concerning the sales of land 'No body can tell what was sold in such cases. It is a puzzle to this day to say what was sold'.

Above all, by admitting its own neglect by laying bare details of the past before all and sundry and by encouraging people to get their grievances redressed, the Government freed³ itself from a tinge of suspicion, and restored confidence in the agricultural community. Thus the Commission became the fore runner of the great Regulation VII of 1822 which has been called the Magna Charta⁴ of the village communities in the North Western Provinces and marked the entry of the Government into a brighter phase from a world of suspicion and confusion.

¹ Govt Revenue Records 1821

² Letter to Molony from the Mofussil Commissioners

³ Letter to Mr Molony by W W Bird

⁴ Notes on North West Provinces by Charles Raikes

NOTE—The writer expresses his indebtedness to Mr B B Singh ICS Secretary, Board of Revenue Allahabad for providing special facilities for consulting original records

• TARIKH-I-MOGHUL OF ASAD BEG.

(By Dr. Mohammad Aziz Ahmad, M A, Ph D)

Tarikh-i-Moghul, Ahwal-i-Asad Beg, Halat-i-Asad Beg and Wiqay-i-Asad Beg all mean the same thing. The manuscript, which I have used, bears the name *Tarikh-i-Moghul*, and which belongs to the Nawab Abdus Salam Collection No 270/40, Muslim University Library, Aligarh. The present manuscript is copied by Mohd. Naziruddin of the State Library, Rampur from the Manuscript of Tulsi Das (dated 22 Zulqadh, 1199 H/Sept 25, 1785 A D) for the perusal of Sahibzada Abdus Salam Khan on May 18, 1901 A D (Muharram 29 1319 H¹). The Manuscript is copied in a clear and neat hand, and consists of 139 pages. It is 10" by 6" with 14 lines in each page.

The work is not unknown, and a copy of the Manuscript is also found in the British Museum. Only portions are translated and summarised by Elliot and Dowson², *History of India*, Vol VI (no reference is made as to the Manuscript used), which the later writers such as Smith³ and others have utilised. The Manuscript, however, is rare and remains unpublished, and its full use has not been made so far. The value of this work lies in the fact that it is quite contemporary and dates as far back as 1011 H/1602 A D, the year of Abul Fazal's murder. Although the author

narration of political events of great importance at the close of Akbar's reign, he has also touched upon the social, cultural and administrative aspects of the country. Nothing important escapes his notice, which he does not, in his realistic and charming manner, sometimes poetically, describes. It is, in short, a valuable source of information for the history of the last years of Akbar and the beginning of the reign of Jahangir.

As regards the life of the author, suffice it to say that he was Asad Beg Kazvini, son of Mohammad Murad Beg Aqa Mulati⁴. He was known for his tact, intelligence and good behaviour, and was a man of exceptional character and ability. At the beginning of his career, he remained in the service of Abul Fazal for seventeen years. After the death of the Shaikh, he became a favourite of Akbar, who rewarded him

commencement of the rule of Shah Jahan

Asad Beg narrates his story as follows — ¶

"Shaikh Abul Fazal son of Shaikh Mubarak was killed at Sarai Barar, a dependency of Sironj, at prayer time on Friday, the 7th Rabi ul awwal 1011⁵ H/25th Aug, 1602 A D⁶ when the news⁷ of the murder was conveyed to the Emperor

¹ Mss. p. 139

² *History of India as told by her own Historians*—Elliot & Dawson, Vol. VI, pp. 150 to 174.

³ Smith—*Akbar the Great Moghul*, pp. 303, 307, 321, 322 & 327

⁴ Mss. p. 19

⁵ Ibid 139

⁶ Elliot & Dawson, Vol. VI, p. 155 give a wrong date as 1010, it is in fact 1011 H or 1602 A D

⁷ Mss. p. 2 در وقت نماز جمعه هتم ربيع الاول سنة ۱۰۱۱ در توابی سرانی برار توابی سرورج شهید شد

Akbar, he was shocked and spent the whole day and night in lamenting and mourning¹ The Emperor then issued a *firman*, calling upon Asad to hasten to the Court²

Asad Beg explains the situation thus—"The Shaikh acting upon the treacherous advice of Gopal Das proceeded from Sirong unguarded, and left his own troops under

were perplexed as to what to do the Shaikh intended to fly, but as they halted, the enemy reached with 500 horse³ There was a fight, and a Rajput pierced the Shaikh's back with a spear The wound was fatal He had still life in him, when Nar Singh approached and seeing the Shaikh his head over his knees began wiping his face fell on Nar Singh, the latter said, 'You are the Shaikh, and cut off his head'⁴

The next day, Asad started from Sirong towards Indrajit Bundela, brother of Nar Singh⁵ At this stage, say a few days after the Shaikh's murder, the royal orders reached him to return to the Capital⁶ On reaching the Capital, Asad was ordered to explain the situation through Raja Ramdas⁷ "You were the right hand man of Abul Fazal", the Emperor asked, "where were you at the time of need?"

be forwarded⁸ in attendance upon the one the *Sahib* (Abul Fazal) safely to the Court Bundela, but it happened what was destined that no other servant of the Shaikh excepting Asad be pardoned He was granted an interview⁹ and he read out the following verse—

دسترس ما بقو کلم و دینم می شود امری تو دینم کا تو دینم

(We long to see you, but as we are helpless, we turn back and meet those, who have seen you) The Emperor was pleased, and granted him a robe of honour¹⁰ He then presented to the Emperor a chest full of jewels, which belonged to the late Allama¹¹ On an inquiry regarding his salary, Asad replied, "I was raised to a

¹ *Ms* p 2

² *Ibid* p 3

³ *Ibid* p 5

⁴ *Ibid* p 7

⁵ *Ibid* p 8

⁶ *Ibid* p 9

⁷ *Ibid* p 10

⁸ *Ibid* p 11

⁹ *Ibid* p 12

¹⁰ *Ibid* p 14

¹¹ *Ibid* p 15

¹² *Ibid* p 16

¹³ *Ibid* p 17

¹⁴ *Ibid* p 18

¹⁵ *Ibid* p 20

¹⁶ *Ibid* p 21

thousand" He was given the position of *Yurbashi* and twenty horse,¹ and was further promoted ²

Asad was appointed to investigate into the conduct of the officers, who had been despatched under Ray Rayan to chastise Nar Singh, but had failed. Nar Singh escaped through the lines of the Raja of Gwalior. Five *firman*s were handed over to him (1) to Ray Rayan (2) Raj Singh, (3) Raja Bhadraba, (4) Ziaul Mulk Bakhshi and (5) *Amirs* and *Mansabdars*.³ Asad proceeded and made his inquiries. He then returned to the Capital, and reported himself to Raja Ram Das, who conducted him to the Royal presence. Asad submitted that there had been neglect all along, and all were equally guilty.⁴

Asad was next commissioned to bring back Mir Jamaluddin Husain from the Deccan, who was sent on a mission to Adil Khan of Bijapur to arrange the marriage of Prince Danayal with the daughter of the ruler of Bijapur.⁵ The Mir prolonged the matter and made unnecessary delay. Asad started and reached Ujjan, where he was welcomed by Mirza Shah Rukh.⁶ Passing through Burhanpur, he arrived at B... and presented the...⁷

Prince granted Asad an interview in the open *Darbar*.¹¹ Leaving Ahmad Nagar, Asad at length started for the royal Court, and fell ill during the journey, but soon recovered.¹²

On account of the death of Maryam-i-Makani, the Emperor along with his courtiers had shaven their beards, technically known as *Bhaddra*.¹³ Asad also did the same, and presented him before the Emperor.¹⁴ He brought some tobacco from Bijapur, and prepared a handsome pipe. The Emperor, while examining the rarities from the Deccan came across that tobacco. Asad was ordered to prepare a

the royal Court.¹⁷

One night when music was being played in the *Burs*, Asad whispered into the ears of Raja Ram Das. "Adil Khan asked me whether Mian Tansin and his party perform their singing standing or sitting in the presence of the Emperor." Akbar overheard it and appreciated it. Asad was next ordered to proceed to the Deccan

¹ *Mss* p 22

² *Ibid* p 26

³ *Ibid* pp 28, 27

⁴ *Ibid* pp 31, 32

⁵ *Ibid* p 34

⁶ *Ibid* p 37

⁷ *Ibid* p 53

⁸ *Ibid* p 55

⁹ *Ibid* pp 58 to 62

¹⁰ *Ibid* p 76

¹¹ *Ibid* p 78

¹² *Ibid* pp 82, 83.

¹³ *Ibid* p 86 "مہر قلیہ ناگزیر حضرت سعید مرحومہ مریم مکمل چند روز قبل ارادہ فرمایا"

یا تمام مقربان مظلومین ہندو ذہنہ

¹⁴ *Ibid* p 88

¹⁵ *Ibid* pp 89, 90.

¹⁶ *Ibid* p 92

¹⁷ *Ibid* pp 97, 98

scattered in all directions on his (Asad's) arrival on the spot.³ Passing through Qasim Katahra in the dependency of Ujjan, Asad reached Ujjan proper⁴ to the presence of Mirza Shah Rukh. After a stay of four days, the news of the death of Emperor Akbar reached there.⁵ Asad marched towards Burhanpur with great difficulty being molested by Shah Ali Bakhshi on the way. Shah Rukh, perforce, despatched a force of 500 horse to conduct him safe to the banks of the Narbada.⁶ At Burhanpur, he was greeted by its ruler Khwaja Abul Hassan.⁷

Das immediately went to guard the Treasury for Prince Khusro. Akbar in his death agonies, pointed to Jahangir as his successor. Finding a change in the state of affairs, Ram Das packed Khusro to Bengal.¹⁰ Jahangir despatched Madho Singh, brother of Ram Das to assure them and bring them back. Both Ram Das and Khusro were presented to the Court, and were treated with kindness by Jahangir.¹¹

Now Asad was ordered to pay his homage to the Emperor. The reason being that Beju and other Amirs were appointed by Akbar to investigate into the conduct of Adil Khan, but when they learnt the news of the Emperor's death, they hastened back to Agra.¹² When inquired, they replied that they retraced their steps hearing that Asad proceeded to Jahangir, who, at length, pardoned him. Thus the story of Asad Beg ends with the accession of Jahangir.¹⁴

³ *Mss* p 98

⁴ *Ibid* p 99

⁵ *Ibid* p 104

⁶ *Ibid* p 105

⁷ *Ibid* p 106

⁸ *Ibid* p 107.

⁹ *Ibid* p 110

¹⁰ *Ibid* p 131

¹¹ *Ibid* p 133

¹² *Ibid* p 138

¹³ *Ibid* p 137

¹⁴ *Ibid* p 122.

¹⁵ *Ibid* p 123.

¹⁶ *Ibid* p 126

SOME NEW LIGHT ON THE TREATY OF BHYROWAL (DEC 16 1846) THROWN BY THE PRIVATE LETTERS OF SIR HENRY HARDINGE

(By Sardar Ganda Singh, M. A.)

It had been stipulated in Article I of the supplementary Articles of Agreement concluded between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar, on the 11th of March, 1846, that "The British Government shall leave at Lahore, till the close of the current year, A D 1846, such force as shall seem to the Governor General

at any convenient time before the expiration of the year, if the object to be fulfilled shall, in the opinion of the Durbar, have been obtained, but the force shall not be retained at Lahore beyond the expiration of the current year"¹.

As the year 1846 drew towards its close, the Lahore Durbar began to concert measures for the new arrangements to be made for the Government of the Punjab after the withdrawal of the British Troops as stipulated above. Sir Henry Hardinge, on the other hand, wished, for political reasons to retain the British troops in the Punjab, and to tighten the British control over the country. The Queen mother, Maharani Jind Kaur, who acted as Regent for her minor son, the Maharaja Duleep Singh, was also in favour of the retention of the British troops under the terms of the then existing treaties of the 9th and 11th March 1846, as long as, according to Article 15 (9th March), "the British Government will not exercise any interference in the internal administration of the Lahore State—but in all cases or questions which may be referred to the British Government, the Governor General will give the aid of his advice for the furtherance of the interests of the Lahore Government"². Henry Lawrence tells us in his report of 17th December, 1846, that "till within the last few days, no one has expressed a more anxious desire for our stay than the Maharani, and even on the day (5th December, 1846)³ following that on which Rajah Lal Singh was deposed from the Wazarat, and her grief was at the worst, she declared to me, when I called on her, that she would leave the Punjab when we did".

But apparently she was soon disillusioned about the intentions of Sir Henry Hardinge who aimed at giving to the British Resident "unlimited authority in all matters of internal administration and external relation," which, for all practical purposes meant the end of the Sikh State, the Darbar, the Queen mother, and the Maharaja all reduced to nonentities. And, therefore, there was a marked change in the attitude of the Maharani and the Chiefs of the Darbar. The price that they were required to pay for the continuance of the British force at Lahore by transfer of all control in internal and external matters into the British hands was prohibitive. Translated in political terms, it was a conversion of the independent State of the Punjab into a British dependency. This gave a more active role to the words of Sir Henry Hardinge. The British have been devoted to an endeavour to win over the Sardars of high and low degree, and unite them all together in a scheme of independent government, of which she herself was to be the

¹ Aitchison, *Treaties*, 1892, Vol. IX, No. XXVII, pp. 43-4

² Aitchison, *Treaties*, 1892, Vol. IX, No. XVI, p. 42

³ Lal Singh was removed from Wazarat on the 4th December, 1846. *Trial of Raja Lal Singh* (Punjab Govt. Record Office monograph No. 16) p. 26

head In this her chief aid and counsellor has ostensibly been Dewan Deena Nath, ever ill disposed to the English, and now probably contemplating with alarm the possibility of our becoming the guardians of the young Maharaja, and—what he would less like—the guardians of the exchequer”¹

But Sir Henry Hardinge was determined, as his private letters to Frederick Currie tell us, to assume all and full powers and to place the new Resident on the footing of a then Lieutenant Governor of a British Indian Province like the U P From Camp Bhyrowal, on the 10th December 1846, he wrote to Currie, then at Lahore in connection with the trial of Lall Singh “I have no doubt on the subject You are the person best qualified to ensure the success of a British administration under novel and difficult circumstances in the Punjab, and in such case I should place you on the same footing as the Lt Governor”

Currie reported to him the unwillingness of the chiefs of the Darbar to agree to the new arrangements proposed by the British Government Sir Henry Hardinge acknowledges to be in the know of this unwillingness of the Darbar in his letter of the 10th December when he says that “the coyness of the Durbar and the Sirdars is very natural” This should have been sufficient for him to withdraw the British force from the Punjab, as agreed upon in the last sentences of the first Article of the Agreement of 11th March 1846 which laid down for the “force to be withdrawn at any convenient time before the year, if the object to be fulfilled shall, in the opinion of the Durbar, have been obtained, but the force shall not be retained at Lahore beyond the expiration of the current year” Now the opinion of the Durbar was not for active hearty willingness to agree to the new arrangements being proposed, and the current year, 1846 A D was also about to expire The Maharani was also within her rights to endeavour to enlist the sympathies of the Sirdars “and unite them all together in a scheme of independent government” But Henry Hardinge would

give to the world outside a different appearance to the new arrangement He wanted to show that he was agreeing to it at the express request of the Lahore Durbar He wrote to Currie, therefore that “The coyness of the Durbar is very natural, but it is very important that the proposal should originate with them—and in any document proceeding from them this admission must be stated in clear and unqualified terms, our reluctance to undertake a heavy responsibility must be set forth The delay of a few days is not important as I may hear from Sir John Hobhouse by the mail hourly expected”²

ess to assent to any conditions im-
In the preamble of the Supple-
mentary act”.

The Queen mother Maharani was not to be a hindrance in the smooth operation of the plan at Lahore He had, therefore, written to Currie, on the 7th December 1846, that “in any arrangement made for con-

¹ Henry Lawrence to Government, 17th Dec 1846

² 10th December, 1846

tinuing the occupation of Lahore, her deprivation of power is an indispensable condition' On the 10th he questioned the right of the Maharani to be the Regent of her son Maharaja Duleep Singh 'I am not aware," he said, by what formal proceedings the Ranees became Regent—I presume by the unquestioned and natural position in which she stood as the mother and the guardian of the Prince' He further suggested that If the Sirdars and influential chiefs and especially the Attareewala family urge the B Govt to be guardian of the Maha Raja during his minority, the Ranees power will cease silently and quietly the admission being recorded that the Br Govt as the guardian of the Boy and administering the affairs of the State is to exercise all the functions and possess all the power of the Regent acting on behalf of the Prince'

To win the assent and adhesion of the chiefs to the conditions proposed to be imposed on the state of the Punjab, Sir Henry guaranteed the continuance of their Jagirs and wrote to Currie on the 14th December, 1846 from Camp Bhyrowal "The guarantee to the chiefs of their Jagheers by British occupation must I should think, be a powerful stimulus to ensure their adhesion to the conditions imposed'

To make a show to the Lahore Darbar that the British troops garrisoned at Lahore were on the move Sir Henry Hardinge issued instructions for certain military movements In his private letter dated Camp Bhyrowal Dec 12th 1846 he wrote to Mr Currie

' I send this by express to desire that the Regt of N I the two guns and the Irreg Cav escorting Lal Singh may *not return to Lahore*

' These troops will cross the Sutlege and encamp at Ferozepoor till further orders and the troops ordered from Ferozepoor to Kussoor will be countermanded

" *My object is to give the Lahore Durbar a hint, that the garrison is on the move*

" I also authorize you to send away another Regt of N I from Lahore to Ferozepoor, there to encamp till further orders and not to be relieved by any Regt from Ferozepoor

' H M 80th Regt will receive orders to be ready to march for Meerut at any moment H M 10th are at Ferozepoor ready to relieve them—but will not move up till ordered, nor will it transpire that they are intended to relieve the 80th

" These announcements will be made to accelerate the Durbar decision

" In selecting the 2nd Regt of N I which is to march on Ferozepore, the move ought to be made by the Regt which has the longest march into the interior of Hindostan

' I enclose a note from Lord Gough, which you will send with a note from your self in case you deem it expedient to send away a second Regt, not forgetting that these 2 Regts, Cav and Artly, sent from Lahore are not to be relieved *at present* from Ferozepore"

On the 14th December, 1846, Sir Henry told Mr Frederick Currie in a private letter

" I authorize you to desire Sir John Littler to move all the troops out of Lahore the end of the week, on the day you may judge to be most expedient (except the 80th) encamping them as near as convenient to the citadel

" *If this hint should be unnecessary by the temper of the chiefs to assent to our views, it will not be made* "

In the meantime some of the Sirdars had yielded to the pressure of Henry Lawrence and Frederick Currie. Sardar Sher Singh Attariwala had been made in charge of a Raja

posid of
belonged to the loyalist party and favoured the elimination of the British control. There was a sharp division between the two. Apparently, as a compromise, it was agreed to ask the Governor General to permit the Agent with two battalions to continue for some months, and the letter written on behalf of Maharaja Duleep Singh to Frederick Currie, Secretary to the Government of India, then at Lahore, on 30th Maghar 903 Bikrami, corresponding to 14th December 1846, in reply to the G. G.'s letter of the 9th December, ended with the following paragraph:

"As the Governor General is desirous of maintaining this state, it is not proper that the whole of the British force stationed here should be put to further inconvenience and annoyance. Nevertheless, with regard to the necessity for establishing the Government of the country, and the fact of the time for the withdrawal of troops, which, in an efficient manner may be effected, and there is no doubt that Colonel Lawrence will according to the provisions of the Treaty, give every aid and assistance in establishing the Government."

from Frederick Currie
ment for some months
able to run it without
the same evening at 5
O'clock p.m. —

"It is my positive determination not to employ a British garrison in carrying on a native administration in the Punjab of which we have recently experienced so many instances of inefficiency, injustice and intrigue. I, therefore, will not consent to lend the aid of British troops to support a system on which no reliance can be placed."

of Inf., one of Cav. and one Battery
unwilling to a desire to undertake the
vention

"The chiefs are the sole judges in this affairs. I am ready to withdraw every man in faithful observance of the Treaty, and altho' I do not say that modifications in the instructions may not be of the reasons which the chief
theless I will not consent to
present force of Artillery and Cavly remaining at Lahore

"I am the best judge of what force I consider it prudent to retain at Lahore, and you may rest their rejections of my conditions on the preliminary questions of the number of troops required for the occupation."

"The 9 Batts. may be reduced at the same time with other portions of the
to time determine

¹ Papers relating to the Punjab 1844-47

"I would recommend you to take up your ground on the amount of force and the amount of money to be paid by the Lahore Government for its expenses before you enter into other matters

"I have written to you without an instant of hesitation as to the course to be pursued, and I authorize you to leave Lahore if on these two points you cannot obtain satisfactory answers "

In the course of the day, 14th December, 1846, Frederick Currie had replied in a most diplomatic manner to the Maharaja's letter with reference to its last paragraph quoted above, calling it "The request of your Highness " He wrote

"The request of your Highness that a portion of the British force now at Lahore, and the Agent of the Governor General, should remain after the expiration of the stipulated time, which measures your Highness states to be necessary for the establishment of the Government of the country, involves a departure from the provisions of the Articles of Agreement executed on the 11th March last, and is a very important matter

"It seems to me desirable that the chiefs of the Darbar, with the Sardars interested in the welfare of the Lahore State should assemble at my Darbar tent, tomorrow, when I will lay before them distinctly the only conditions on which the Governor General will consent to a modification of the articles of agreement above referred to, and it will be well that these chiefs and the Sardars should be prepared to give a conclusive acquiescence or rejection of the said conditions, in order that the affair may be concluded, and the necessary orders given regarding the movement of the British force "

Armed with the positive determination and views of the Governor General conveyed to him in his private letters Frederick Currie held a Darbar of the chiefs of the Darbar, and other Sardars of the state on the morning of the 15th December 1846 and read out to them a paper which contained "the only conditions " of the Governor General proposed to be imposed on the state of the Punjab in response to the "request" of the Maharaja.

Without much discussion all agreed Dissentient voice there was none to be. By "perseverence " "in making the Sikh Durbar propose the condition or rather their readiness to assent to any conditions imposed," and by offers and "guarantee to the chiefs of their Jagheers b, British occupation, ' and by superior diplomacy the proposal itself had been managed to be made by the Darbar and the assent of the chiefs had been secured before the 15th was arrived at. "

ment of India, declared, " must have full authority to interfere in, and to control all matters in every department of the state

"This proposition being communicated to the assembly," writes Henry Lawrence in his report of the 17th December, to Government in the person of Mr Currie, "Dewan Dena Nath expressed a wish to adjourn in order that they might take the opinion of the Maharaja but you informed him that the Governor General was not asking the opinion of the Queen mother, but of the Sardars and Pillars of the State " This stern and strong hint from the Secretary to the Government was enough to indicate to the assembled chiefs and Sardars the mind and the attitude of the Government and to silence any dissentient voice

¹ F Currie to H M Lawrence 14th December 1846—Punjab Govt Records Office monograph No 16, appendix IX, p 121

A small trifling reduction of two lacs in the amount of 24 lacs of rupees per annum demanded by the Governor General for the maintenance of the British force in the Punjab was the only modification made in the conditions imposed, which were otherwise agreed to by the Darbar *in toto*. And the proposed Treaty, afterwards called the *Treaty of Bhyrowal*, was concluded on the following day, the 16th December, 1846¹

On hearing from Frederick Currie that his Secretary, Currie himself, and Political Agent Henry Lawrence had succeeded in carrying through his wishes and views regarding the future of the Punjab by placing the country at his feet, and at his mercy, Sir Henry Hardinge wrote to him as follows in his private letter dated Camp Bhyrowal, December 16, 3 O'clock p m

"My dear Currie,

I have received your letter of the 15th morning written *before* the conference with the Sirdars, and the translated copy of the Persian Paper which you had laid before them containing the conditions—and I have also received your letter of the 15th, written after the meeting with the Sirdars which reached me at 8 O'clock this morning

I be happy
you have
influence of

Lt Col Lawrence, whenever I receive your official report It is quite impossible to have brought this affair to a more satisfactory conclusion

'Your intimate knowledge of my sentiments, and the concurrence of our views in Punjab Politics, have enabled you most successfully to realize all the objects I

establishing its Government and at the same time of securing by honourable means the tranquility of this frontier, and, I may hope, of all India

be appointed
rity to direct

"Article 5—The following persons shall in the first instance constitute the council of Regency and no change shall be made in the persons thus nominated without the consent of the British Resident acting under the orders of the Governor General "

"Article 7—A British force of such strength and numbers and in such positions, as the Governor General may think fit, shall remain at Lahore for the protection of the Maharaja, and the preservation of the peace of the country "

"Article 8—The Governor General shall be at liberty to occupy with British soldiers any fort or military post in the Lahore territories, the occupation of which may be deemed necessary by the British Government for the security of the Capital and maintaining peace of the country "

"Article 9—The Lahore state shall pay to the British Government twenty two lacs of new Nanakshahi rupees of full tale and weight per annum for the maintenance of this force, and to meet the expenses incurred by the British Government

"Article 10—Inasmuch as it is fitting that Her Highness the Maharani, the mother of Maharaja Duleep Singh, should have a proper provision made for the maintenance of herself and her dependants the sum of one lac and 50 000 rupees shall be set apart annually for the purpose, and shall be at Her Highness' disposal "

"Article 11—The provisions of this engagement shall have effect during the minority of His Highness Maharaja Duleep Singh, and shall cease and terminate on His Highness attaining the full age of 16 years or on the 4th September 1854,

"The moral effect of the Sikh Chiefs entreating the British Government to become the Guardian of their Prince, by the continuance of a British garrison at Lahore and our consent to undertake the responsible charge must be felt throughout Asia in raising the reputation and extending the influence of the British character

"Personally I may regret that it has not been my fate to plant the British standard on the Banks of the Indus I have taken the less ambitious course and I am consoled by the reflection that I have acted right in the interests of England and of India

"Be the judgment what it may, as far as I am concerned, the struggle between military feeling and political duty is over—and I will refer to matters of business

"I quite concur in the trifling reduction to which you very properly consented in the sum to be paid for the troops

"The point which may admit of some discussion relates to the disposal of the Rane

"It is quite proper and agreed upon between us that the lady should no longer
be considered in apportioning
the sum and this can be adjusted by the chiefs at once

"As to her residence there is an objection to separate her from her son on the
of the new Government,
in anticipation of any

I am [of] opinion that she will be more harmless at Lahore than in any other part of the Punjab If she should become troublesome and her expatriation be justified, she must be sent across the Sutlege, in which case she might perhaps be domiciled in the Raja of Ladwas House and occasionally see her son As Runjeet's wife, and the mother of the Prince of *all the Sikhs* I am disposed to act with caution, although the notoriety of her profligacy [?] by itself would be a strong case of justification I don't think she would find an Alderman Wood to conduct her in triumph through the streets of Lahore

"I have just seen John Lawrence He seems to be of opinion that the new
g to this Camp and seeking
it at Umritsir or Lahore I
J Littler to visit the works
at Lahore and make an arrangement better calculated to keep the sepoy's and the
Town's people separate

"In the long run depend upon it, the town's people will like us the better the more we are separated from them

(Then follow details of the movements of troops)

"If there should be any feeling that the distance is too great or the submission of signing the Treaty in the B territory an act of dignity, I am quite ready to go to Umritsir,—but after the Cashmeir affairs, I rather think the meeting here is the most politic course Settle it as you think best after consultations with the Chiefs,
etc
* * * *

"Again, my dear Currie let me express the cordial and affectionate regard for all the valuable services you render to me, and above all to the state

' In closely examining this piece of diplomatic work, I cannot find that you have omitted a single point

* * * * *

Yours very sincerely,

Hardinge "

The above is the last of the private letters of Sir Henry Hardinge, the Governor General of India to Mr. Frederick Currie, Secretary to the Government of India, then on deputation to Lahore on the subject of the Treaty of Bhyrowal, and which throw so much of new light on it

We had been told in the preamble of the Treaty, the public correspondence and official documents, and in the books on the history of that period, that "the Lahore Darbar and the Principal chiefs and Sardars of the state have, in express terms, communicated to the British Government their anxious desire that the Governor

Lord Hardinge had given "reluctant assent" to it. But now we know from a study of the private letters of Sir Henry Hardinge that the Lahore Darbar had no such "anxious desire" in the beginning and that it was only after the chiefs and Sardars had been worked upon for some time that a letter was written on behalf of Maharaja Duleep Singh, on the 14th December 1846 saying "it is hoped, that the Agent, with two battalions, and a regiment of Cavalry, and one battery, may be allowed to continue for some months, during which what still remains to be done to complete an efficient manner may be effected." But for some months. He would either give no force, "at liberty to occupy with British soldiers, a British Resident "with full authority to

supplementary Articles this solicitation must clearly be their act." And ultimately all this was so diplomatically managed as to give it the desired appearance

A PLEA FOR THE STUDY OF LOCAL RECORDS AND TRADITIONS.

(By Mr. Sri Ram Sharma, M A)

The general conception of history in India has so long been confined to its political side alone that very few historians seem to realise that history in India, as elsewhere must concern itself not only with an account of all the recorded activities of man in the past, but with the unrecorded ones as well. Dr T G P Spear in putting in a plea for the study of local records last year tried to bring out the value of all recorded activities even of the minor actors in the great drama of a country's life. I want to plead to day for the study and collection of another now too fast vanishing source of history, particularly of social history, the local traditions recorded or unrecorded.

Anyone who has had an opportunity of roaming over the countryside in India must have realised how rich the country is in its local lore. Take for example the question of place names first. It might be difficult sometimes to make the name of a locality tell us anything. Some may even argue that a rose would smell as well by another name. But enshrined in the names of some of the localities there may be tales not only worth telling but sometimes worth finding a place even in a general history of the country.

An Una (not full) an Anand

all in the district of Hoshiarpur

history while certain others are emphasized by Amritsar (the tank of nectar) Gurusar (the tank of the Guru) in the district of Amritsar in the Punjab. Nankana (of Nanak) Dera Baba Nanak (the abode of Baba Nanak) and a Kartarpur (the city of the creator) elsewhere tell similar tales. The connection of some of these names with Sikh history is too well known. But there are other less well known towns and villages as well where the local tradition records in the local names forgotten facts of history. The local tradition need not always be true. A Panjgatra in the district of Hoshiarpur need not necessarily have been included in the kingdom of Virat where the five Pandus spent their one year of concealment. A Bajwara, recorded history tells us, could not have been established by Bajirawra in Akbar's days for the very simple reason that it is mentioned in earlier days as well. Incidentally one might very well try to investigate the question whether Bajaur in the N W Frontier Province Bajwara in the Punjab and Bezwada in Madras harken back to one common origin.

It is absolutely necessary that an attempt should be made to try to record the tales the names of most places have to tell us. The migration of population not only in big cities but to some of the smaller cities as well might in some cases result in effacing all memory of earlier settlements in depopulated area. A China Ghat and a Bhikhowal are today only names of sites in the district of Hoshiarpur. But at one time the one might have preserved the local story of its connection with the Chinese or China and the other might as well have been able to tell us of a Bhikshu settlement.

In the Punjab at least much useful work was done in preserving local tradition when the first regular settlement of the land revenue took place. The detailed village accounts prepared at that time are very useful mines of information. A good deal can be learnt of the local traditions as they stood at the time when these records were compiled. They are an invaluable record of social history. But in the Punjab at least Settlement Officers were not always trained historians. They, or rather their subordinates recorded whatever the oldest men in the village had to

tell them History of India to day is much better known than it was in their days It is necessary, therefore, that this work be again taken in hand by serious students of history who, though they should be ready to record again whatever they are told, should also be able to examine what they are told If we cannot have a Place Name Society as in many countries in Europe we can easily pool our knowledge by publishing these results of our studies at these meetings of the Historical Records Commission

Another question that can further be studied locally is that of local gods, goddesses musoleums, endowments and fairs At the back of almost every endowment there is a story Almost every fair has its legends though it might not always find a Jayaswal to unearth its meaning The mausoleums Hindu and Muslim preserve memories of social life and usages which it might be necessary for us to record to day if we want to record them at all The local Pirs as well as gods and goddesses might once again remind us of a community of superstitious belief where there are neither Hindus nor Muhammadans but only plain human beings The shrine of a Pir Nigaha (in the district of Kangra) might, for example, preserve the rather quaint tradition of a Muslim saint worshipped alike by the Hindus and the Muslims—
a diaries) who are made
t the proprietors of the
l a History of Mandi
several years ago the survey of local gods and goddesses which I examined turned out to be a mine of ethnographical information

Then there is the study of the interesting history preserved in the account of the migration of many families How have some of the sub castes or clans came to be dispersed all over the country? Some family or national disaster might have always provided a reason for leaving rich populated towns and seeking shelter, sometimes in barren rocky dry mountains or even in sandy wastes Even family disaster would very often turn out to be born of something connected, if not with the broad policy of the ruling dynasty, at least with some of its administrative practices What led, for example the Mehrash Brahmans of Batala to leave that rich town to seek shelter, say, at such a place as Jak Rera? How was it that a Brahman Maratha priest left his homeland and turned up in the district of Kangra to found one of the most respectable of Rajput families in the Punjab is a question that certainly needs an answer Enshrined in the traditions of many families are stories which are worth unearthing to day before the new migration of families maps asunder the links of the present with the past

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into the secret of the failure of Mughal policy in Kabul to a larger extent than the accounts even of such a detailed history as Lataif ul Akhabar Even fairly recent family accounts might tell us more about social life say in the early nineteenth

century
an inter
family c

Here is for example
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Lala Mohan Lal our ancestor used to be a prosperous Cloth merchant and successful purveyor at Sirhind near Delhi. His income from both these sources exceeded Rs 500 a month

and stone as well as a

Sikhs once made a night

possible to resist them successfully fled from the city leaving it unprotected. The Sikhs plundered the city to their hearts' content and carried away a good deal of booty. Among those who fell a victim to their plundering zeal was Lala Mohan Lal. In the confusion that their raid created the family left Sirhind to seek safety elsewhere. But as ill luck would have it, Lala Mohan Lal was separated from the rest of his family. When he reached the Amloh, he spent his day under a banyan tree.

These servants who took that to the Khan who was cured of his severe pain in a short time

8764

"Next morning Lala Mohan Lal was brought before the Khan who asked him how he had happened to be there. He told the story of the Sikh sack of Sirhind. The Khan enquired after his family, when Lala Mohan Lal told him that though he knew nothing definite about them, he was sure they must be in the neighbourhood of Sirhind. The Khan at once deputed several of his horsemen to make a search for them. Within two days they succeeded in tracing them and bringing them back to Amloh. Mohan Lal was overjoyed at their reunion.

I now settled

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him a very

decent living. He was soon able to build an extensive enclosed house of bricks with a well outside. He spent several years in peace here.

dering band got was stocked at the shop at Amloh. Now the family prospered by their ill gotten gains. Mohan Lal's grandson Jai Bhagwan gave shelter to his brother in law who had fled from famine stricken Patiala.

"Lala Mohan Lal was still alive and kicking. One day Raja Dasondha Singh of Khanna came to Amloh and tried to persuade him to open a shop at Khanna. But the Raja persisted and Mohan Lal agreed. The Raja sent a Rath, a cart and some horsemen to bring one of the members of the family to Khanna. Lala Lal now accompanied them to Khanna where he settled down in peace. This was the first and the only shop at Khanna. As it prospered Lala Mohan Lal moved to Khanna.

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Some family accounts are otherwise as were worth studying. While I was studying the history of Rajputana at Jodhpur, the late Munshi Devi Prashad told me of his unique collection of the horoscopes of several Mughal emperors, Hindu Chiefs and Officials. Their astrological value might be left to others to study. But they fixed the dates of birth of these worthies with a precision which cannot be easily shaken. He further told me of the account books of some of the Mutsaddi families in Rajputana whose ancestors accompanied a Man Singh or Jaswant Singh even to par off Kabul. I have not yet heard of their recovery but if they are unearthed what a rich source of social history they would prove besides being accidentally,

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century that our usual source of information for such matters Here is for example an interesting family account dating back to Aurangzeb's reign of an Aggarwal family of Khanna in the district of Ludhiana

"Lala Mohan Lal our ancestor used to be a prosperous Cloth merchant and successful purveyor at Sirhind near Delhi His income from both these sources exceeded Rs 500 a month This enabled him to build a good enclosed house of brick and stone as well as a commodious shop Towards the end of Aurangzeb's reign Sikhs once made a night attack on Sirhind The Fojdar Zain Khan, finding it impossible to resist them successfully fled from the city leaving it unprotected The Sikhs plundered the city to their hearts' content and carried away a good deal of booty Among those who fell a victim to their plundering zeal was Lala Mohan Lal In the confusion that their raid created the family left Sirhind to seek safety elsewhere But as ill luck would have it, Lala Mohan Lal was separated from the rest of his family When he reached the Amloh, he spent his day under a banyan tree

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first and the only shop at Khanna As it prospered Lala Mohan Lal moved to
Khanna

"Lala Mohan Lal's two sons settled at Khanna All the Aggarwals of Khanna
trace their descent back to them There was a small school at Khanna kept by a
Muslim teacher mainly for the children of the local Chief After the death of the
was his neighbour He
Among the Aggarwals
that whoever tried to

study Persian died young My grand father tried to dissuade me from my resolve But at sixteen youth is impulsive I refused to be frightened By hard application I was able to learn to read the prescriptions sent to our shop Soon I gave up this work and became a teacher at Jagraon "

Along with this account which I was able to secure by courtesy of one of the members of the family, I got some pages of the family account book preserving the rates of various commodities as sold at this shop at Khanna more than a century ago which are exhibited herewith

I am quite sure that if an extensive antiquarians' survey of the country is undertaken we might be able to gather a good deal of useful material

DIARY OF MIRZA SHAHI'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST SIKHS, FEBRUARY—JULY,
1780

(From unpublished Persian Records.)

(By Dr. Hari Ram Gupta, M A., B.T., Ph. D.)

By 1780 the Sikhs had become supreme in the vast tract of country lying between the Jumna and the Indus. They were carrying frequent plundering raids into the Gangetic Doab, and also approached to the very walls of the Imperial capital, Delhi. The Moghul Emperor, Shah Alam, felt very much exasperated at these depredations, as he was deprived of the revenues from his personal lands. The Sikhs also dried up the source of income of many imperial officials who held lands in the upper Doab. It was therefore considered imperative to put a stop to the Sikh aggressions in order to feed and maintain their soldiery. Several expeditions were organized against them from time to time. One of the most important of these is Mirza Shafi's campaign.

A brief account of this invasion is given by Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar in the 3rd volume of his *Fall of the Moghul Empire*. But we have minute details, almost day to day, in Claud Martin's collection of Persian news letters available in the British Museum, and photographed for Dr. Maharajkumar Raghubir Singh. I consulted these papers in his admirable collection at Sitamau. Here I have given only a short summary of these newsletters.

Mirza Muhammad Shafi was the grand nephew of Nawab Najaf Khan, the Chief Minister at Delhi. During Najaf's life-time he filled only subordinate posts but after his death he rose to greater importance. Shah Alam appointed him Regent and Subahdar of Agra. He held the high office of Mir Bakshi from 15 September 1782 to 23 September 1783, when he was murdered at the instigation of Afrasiab Khan, the adopted son of Najaf Khan, who was Shafi's rival for supremacy at the royal court.

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confidence of his troops, while his appeals to Delhi for assistance went almost unheeded. As a consequence he was so terror stricken that he kept himself close to the Jumna, never venturing to march into the heart of the Cis Sutlej country. He ultimately returned without achieving anything. I have dealt with this campaign here only upto the beginning of the rainy season, when Shafi was ordered by the Delhi court to fix his headquarters at a certain place. This campaign was of course renewed about the end of the rains in September.

February, 1780

15th—Mirza Shafi marched from Meerut to Kandelah¹ (6 miles East of the Jumna in Muzaffarnagar district)

20th—Mirza Shafi's letter from Kandelah was received announcing that the Sikhs intended to check his progress, and consequently reinforcements should be quickly dispatched.²

¹ Ms. No. 25,020, 17b

² *Ibid.*, 28b

21st —Mirza Shafi writes that Dulcha Singh is lying encamped at the head of 500 horse 14 miles away from the Jumna ¹

22nd —Rai Singh's letter was received declaring that the Sikhs intended to cross the Jumna ²

28th —A letter was dispatched to Mirza Shafi saying that the Sikhs wanted to go to Saharanpur and that he should not interfere with them ³

29th —Another letter was sent to Mirza Shafi instructing him that he should fight if the Sikhs came to oppose him but he should not take the initiative in this matter ⁴

March 1780—

7th —Mirza Shafi had an engagement with nearly 150 Sikh horse at Radaur (27 miles North of Karnal and 8 miles North West of the Jumna) The Sikhs ultimately fled away 1 000 Sikhs crossed the Jumna and drove away 2 000 cattle from the town of Kot The Mirza sent two battalions and two pieces of cannon for the protection of the town ⁵

9th —Mirza Shafi lay encamped in the village of Radaur while the Sikhs continued 8 miles distant from him Some Sikhs again crossed over the Jumna and drove away cattle from Lakhnauti The Mirza received a letter from Diwan Singh and Baghel Singh saying that the crops were being ruined and Mirza Shafi would be held responsible for it ⁶

11th —Mirza Shafi fought with the Sikhs the day previous and about 70 persons were killed and wounded on both sides ⁷

13th —Mirza Shafi decided to transfer his camp to Sikandara The troops had marched only 5 miles when the Sikhs fell upon them Mirza Zain ul Abidin (brother of Mirza Shafi) and Bagha Rao fought well Then the Sikhs fled away Eight horses of the Sikhs fell into the hands of the conquering heroes (قزلباش) while the Sikhs carried off two camels and six ponies About 20 persons of both sides were slain and wounded ⁸

14th —This morning Mirza Shafi's troops marched to Nikobat (?) the head quarters of Rai Singh and Bhag Singh Many skirmishes took place on the way At midday the Mirza reached near the place where he pitched his camp The Sikhs then came back and encamped six miles away All the Sikhs of Nikobat fled away to Jamalgarh with their families and property ⁹

15th —The Mirza is encamped at Nikobat ¹⁰

16th —A few cart and cattle loads of ammunition reached from Nawab Najaf Khan In today's fight several persons of both parties were killed and wounded ¹¹

¹ Ibid

² Ibid 32b

³ Ibid 36b

⁴ Ibid 38b

⁵ Ibid 51b

⁶ Ibid 54a

⁷ Ibid 56a

⁸ Ibid 57b

⁹ Ibid 59a b

¹⁰ Ibid 60b

¹¹ Ibid 62a b

[هرگز در رشن مراجع نماد شد]

17th—Ghulam Qadir Khan son of Zabītah Khan, crossed the Jumna and secured much booty from Nakum-Tabar.¹ (Nakum is situated on the western bank of the Jumna, and Tabar on the opposite bank, 16 miles West of Saharanpur).

19th—The Sikhs lost 25 soldiers, and many were wounded.²

22nd—Mirza Shafi marched towards Buriya³ (4 miles West of the Jumna).

27th—Mirza Shafi held consultations with Chain Singh, vakīl of Rajah Amar Singh of Patiala.⁴

28th—The Mirza encamped near Kharvan⁵ (3 miles North of Buriya).

29th—The Mirza fixed his camp at Balchapur on the bank of the Chittang stream⁶ (7 miles North-West of Jagadhari)

April, 1780—

2nd.—Mir Mansur established his posts at Mustafabad (12 miles West of Buriya) and Sadhaura⁷ (on Nakti stream, 6 miles South of the hills and 23 miles East of Ambala).

3rd.—Sixty cart loads, and 60 horse loads of grain, and two cartloads of gunpowder arrived from Sadhaura, but the Banjaras carrying grain were plundered by Mor Singh⁸

4th—The Mirza marched from Balchapur, and encamped one mile distant from Mustafabad.⁹

6th—The Sikhs sent their families to the hills¹⁰

7th—Ghulam Qadir Khan had an interview with the Mirza, and received a robe of honour¹¹

8th—2,000 Sikhs are encamped at Balchapur, 200 troopers of Gurdatt Singh drove away cattle from Garhi Bhai Khan on the other side of the Jumna.¹²

9th—The Mirza fixed his quarters at Sikandara but two battalions of Gangaram being displeased (اُڑدے) stayed behind at Mustafabad¹³

10th—A battle between Ismail Beg and the Sikhs took place at Sadhaura.¹⁴

11th—The Sikhs fought with the 'āmil of Buriya, and one Jamadar of Infantry lost his life¹⁵

12th—200 Sikhs crossed the Jumna, and plundered a village near Meerut, killing and wounding several persons¹⁶

14th—The police post of Baghel Singh was expelled from Hosainpur.¹⁰

¹ *Ibid.*, 63b—64a.

² *Ibid.*, 65b

³ *Ibid.*, 67a

⁴ *Ibid.*, 69b

⁵ *Ibid.*, 71b 72a

⁶ *Ibid.*, 73b

⁷ *Ibid.*, 80b

⁸ *Ibid.*, 86a

⁹ *Ibid.*, 91b

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 93b

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 96b.

¹² *Ibid.*, 99b

¹³ *Ibid.*, 103b

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 108b

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 109b

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 113a

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 117b.

16th —A fierce fight took place near Jrdari (15 miles north of Karrai and 6 miles west of the Jumra) in which the Sikhs lost 150 men including their commander, Ratan Singh, while a large number of them were wounded. The imperialists lost 30 men, and nearly 50 were wounded. By way of appreciation a rich robe of honour was sent to Shafi from Delhi.¹

The Emperor consulted Opat astronomer regarding Mirza Shafi who said that the Sikhs would fight with the Mirza on the 16th, 22nd, 24th April and 4th May and that the imperial troops would be victorious.²

18th —The Sikhs were carrying regular raids across the Jumna. They should be checked by other forces from Delhi.³

20th —The Sikhs plundered Gargch (7 miles east of the Jumna in Saharanpur district) and then arrived near Shamli⁴ (a town in Muzaffargarh district). The Chaudhari of Shamli bought off the Sikhs by offering money for Karah. The Sikhs then plundered Hasanpur and other 12 villages of the Afghans.⁵

21st —The Mirza reports that his captains and soldiers are disheartened for want of reinforcements and they are deserting the camp.⁶

22nd —The Sikhs plundered Baghpat (20 miles north of Delhi on the Jumna in Meerut district) and the neighbouring villages.⁷

23rd —Requested immediate assistance to punish the Sikh raiders across the Jumna.⁸ The Sikhs plundered Sheikhpura and spread devastation in the neighbourhood of Shahdara⁹ (suburbs of Delhi). They realized a tribute of Rs 4,000 from the 'amul of Burhana.

24th —Mirza Shafi raised his camp on the Chittang, and encamped near Mustafabad.¹⁰

26th —Mirza Shafi sought for assistance.¹¹ The Sikhs laid waste Pargnapura and established their post there. They got a blackmail of Rs 400 and a horse from village Holi.¹²

27th —Mirza Shafi was at Kabutar Khara. He had made preparations to march to Buriya, but postponed it for the time being. He sent Sherdin Khan and Mir Mansur to establish imperial posts in the neighbourhood of Sadhaura.¹³

28th —Khahl Muhammad Khan, Jamadar of 400 horse deserted Murtaza Khan (engaged in the Jaipur campaign) and sought service with him.¹⁴

30th —Khahl Muhammad Khan Jamadar seized Shahabad (16 miles south of Ambala) by expelling the Sikhs.¹⁵

¹ Ibid, 121a 122a.

² Ibid 123a

³ Ibid, 125b

⁴ Ibid 129b

⁵ Ibid 137a b

⁶ Ibid 137a

⁷ Ibid 140b

⁸ Ibid 140b

⁹ Ibid 142b 143a

¹⁰ Ibid 146a

¹¹ Ibid 155a

¹² Ibid, 148a

¹³ Ibid, 161a 163a

¹⁴ Ibid 165a

سر درواں بیدل شدہ اند کلا حاکم ما یں سکھان ویران سے ٹھیند
و حاکم شدہ در خواستہ میروند

در عرصی مرزا شعیب خان مندرج بود کہ مدوی در آنجا تدبیر
سکھان قرار واقعی نموده اسب آن خاندان حلد موج روانہ فرمادند

May 1780—

3rd—Shafi bestowed a dosbala on Jaimal Banjara for bringing grain to the camp. Khalil Muhammad Khan reported from Shahabad that 200 Sikhs attacked the town and wounded some persons ¹

4th—500 Sikhs plundered the country across the Jumna and 200 Sikhs were bringing this booty home when Mir Mansur came to oppose them. In the engagement the Mir and his horse were wounded, Mir Baqar Mir Kalan and Inayat Ali were slain and about twenty troopers were killed and wounded ²

5th—Shafi marched from Kabutar Khara and pitched his camp near Sadhaura ³

6th—Sherdin Khan and Bagha Rao brought treasure into the camp. Shafi transferred his camp from Sadhaura to Bilaspur ⁴ (8 miles south east of Sadhaura)

8th—Shafi received Rs 25 000 from Gajpat Singh of Jind as the revenues of Kunjpura which he distributed among his soldiers. He settled a tribute⁵ of Rs 17 000 on the Raja of Nahan and Rs 7 000 on the zamindars of village Indara ⁶

9th—Shafi encamped at Balchapur. The Sikhs were creating a havoc in the Gangetic Doab ⁷

10th—The battalion of Sheikh Haidar was disheartened, and the Mirza encouraged them to stay ⁸

11th—Shafi fixed his camp at Damla ⁹ (10 miles south of Buria and 10 miles west of the Jumna)

12th—Shafi moved from Damla and encamped near Zadurpur (?) The Sikhs attacked him in the camp ¹⁰

13th—Shafi reached the bank of the Jumna on the ghat of Nakum Tabar ¹¹

14th—Shafi was at Nakum Tabar. He received letters from the imperial officers of Sadhaura and Shahabad saying that the zamindars were rebelling and the Sikhs fought them daily ¹²

15th—Shafi was stationed at the same place ¹³

16th—The amil of Shahabad informed him that he was defeated by the Sikhs and they expelled him from the town. If the reinforcements did not come immediately he would be sacrificed ¹⁴

17th—Shafi marched from Nakum Tabar to Buria in pursuit of the Sikhs ¹⁵ and in the gardens outside enjoyed a performance of the dancing girls who accompanied his camp. The amil of Shahabad again wrote to him for assistance ¹⁶

¹ Ibid 168b

² Ibid 171b

³ Ibid 177a 178b

⁴ Ibid 180b

⁵ Ibid 180b

⁶ Ibid 193b

⁷ Ibid 199b

⁸ Ibid 204b

⁹ Ibid 206a

¹⁰ Ibid 210b

¹¹ Ibid 215a

¹² Ibid 220a

¹³ Ibid 224b

¹⁴ Ibid 229a

¹⁵ Ibid 230b

¹⁶ Ibid 233a

پیش شمع حسرت آورده شده بود دلخواهی ادبانه و دلد

روستایان از طرف حاکم سرکش اند و هر روز از ما می و
که این جنگ می شود

که این جنگی را مبارک تنگ سرده اند حلد کرمک روانه فرستاد

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⁸ *Ibid.*, 140b

⁹ *Ibid.*, 142b 143a

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 145a

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 155a

¹² *Ibid.*, 148a

¹³ *Ibid.*, 161a 163a

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 165a

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و حاکم شدہ پر خاصاً مینروند

در موصی مرزا شعیب خان متذبح بود کہ ندوی در آنها تدبیر
سکاهاں قرار واقعی نموده است آن خداوند جلد روح روانه فرماید

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9th—Shafi encamped at Balchapur. The Sikhs were creating a havoc in the Gangetic Doab ⁷

10th—The battalion of Sheikh Haidar was disheartened, and the Mirza encouraged them to stay ⁸

11th—Shafi fixed his camp at Damla ⁹ (10 miles south of Buriya, and 10 miles west of the Jumna)

12th—Shafi moved from Damla and encamped near Zadurpur (?) The Sikhs attacked him in the camp ¹⁰

13th—Shafi reached the bank of the Jumna on the ghat of Nakum Tabar ¹¹

14th—Shafi was at Nakum Tabar. He received letters from the imperial officers of Sadhaura and Shahabad saying that the zamindars were rebelling and the Sikhs fought them daily ¹²

15th—Shafi was stationed at the same place ¹³

16th—The 'amil of Shahabad informed him that he was defeated by the Sikhs and they expelled him from the town. If the reinforcements did not come immediately, he would be sacrificed ¹⁴

17th—Shafi marched from Nakum Tabar to Buriya in pursuit of the Sikhs ¹⁵ and in the gardens outside enjoyed a performance of the dancing girls who accompanied his camp. The 'amil of Shahabad again wrote to him for assistance ¹⁶

¹ Ibid 168b

² Ibid 171b

³ Ibid 177a 178b

⁴ Ibid 182b

⁵ Ibid 187b

⁶ Ibid 193b

⁷ Ibid, 199b

⁸ Ibid 204b

⁹ Ibid 206a

¹⁰ Ibid, 210b

¹¹ Ibid 215a

¹² Ibid 220a

¹³ Ibid 224b

¹⁴ Ibid 229a

¹⁵ Ibid 230b

¹⁶ Ibid 233a

چلتن شمع حیدر آرزو شدہ بود دلبر می آنها نہ وند

و سمناران اس طرف جا بجا سر کش اند و هر روز از ما این و
سکین جنگ می شود

سکین دوی را سیار تنگ نموده اند حلد کرمک روانه فرمایند

18th—Shafi received a written agreement from Gajpat Singh to this effect that he would pay the Mirza one lakh of rupees at the time of his reaching Kunj-pura and fifty thousand rupees in Karnal. He would hand over his son by way of security for two lakhs of rupees, and he himself would remain in attendance upon him.¹

19th—Shafi came back to Nakum Tabar. Bhag Singh and Rai Singh, the chiefs of the Sikhs crossed over the Jumna at Saharanpur ghat. The dancing girls complained to him that they were suffering from want of money.²

20th—Gajpat Singh's son reached Karnal.³

21st—Shafi marched back from Buriya towards Nathanpur (5 miles north of Buriya), but the Sikhs attacked him on the way. About fifteen men on both sides were wounded, while one Sikh was killed.⁴

22nd—The 'amil of Shahabad informed the Mirza that the Sikhs again besieged him and shot at him from the tops of the neighbouring houses while he had taken shelter under the walls of the Sarai. The Mirza ordered Sherdin Khan and Bagha Rao to go to his rescue but they refused on the ground that their troops were clamouring for their arrears of pay and that they had been going without food for the past three days.⁵

25th—The Mirza was still at Nakum Tabar, and the Sikhs fought with the 'amil of Shahabad as before.⁷

26th—The Mirza received two Hundis of fifty thousand and ten thousand rupees from Gajpat Singh, and Shafi distributed Rs 10,000 among his troops.⁶

27th—Shafi asked every one of his officers to march to the rescue of Khal Muhammad Khan the 'amil of Shahabad but none agreed.⁸

28th—Shafi sent his officers to fight against Khal Muhammad Khan. The Mirza himself fought with the 'amil of Sadhaura near Thanesar. The Sikhs from Kha-whil-Ropar side were at Sirhind.⁹

June, 1780

offered one horse as a nazar, and 1 horse and 800 foot. The Sikhs

2nd—The Sikhs established their administration at Shahabad.¹¹

4th—Shafi's position was deteriorating as nobody obeyed him, and he had no money to give. Gajpat Singh arrived in the camp of Mirza Shafi.¹²

¹ Ibid 236b 237a

² Ibid 241b

³ Ibid 247a

⁴ Ibid 250a b

⁵ Ibid 254b

⁶ Ibid 257b

⁷ Ibid 264b

⁸ Ibid 265b

⁹ Ibid 273b 274a

¹⁰ Ibid 284a

¹¹ Ibid 281a b

¹² Ibid 282b

مرزا مرکور نے جمیع عملیہ گتے کے رتن خود قبول کر دیے

7th—Mirza Shafi dispatched four platoons under Sayyid Ali, Ganga Ram Kumedan, Ghulam Muhammad and Sherdin Khan Mandal to help the amil of Sadhaura¹

8th—The troops were mutinying for their unpaid salary and were pressing the Mirza to let them go to Delhi along with Gajpat Singh²

9th—The platoons sent to assist the 'amil of Sadhaura marched from Damla and Balchapur and reached Sadhaura while fighting on the way with the Sikhs, continuously for eight miles. The military posts at Mustafabad and Bilaspur were also raised. The imperialists lost seven men and 150 were wounded, whilst the Sikhs lost two men³

10th—The imperial troops were compelled to vacate the post at Sadhaura. Then they marched back, and through constant fighting with the Sikhs all the way reached Shafi's camp one hour after nightfall. The Sikhs lost about 80 men and the imperialists nearly 40⁴

11th—2 000 Sikhs marched towards Buriya in order to invest it, but when guns were fired upon them from the walls of the fort they retired⁵

12th—2,000 Sikhs have gone to Kunjpura, while 500 Sikhs have laid siege to Damla⁶

13th—Rai Singh, Bhag Singh and Bhagel Singh at the head of 3,000 soldiers have reached Damla, other Sikh chiefs are lying encamped at a distance of 6 or 7 miles. 500 Sikhs suddenly appeared before Shafi's camp at Nakum Tabar⁷

14th—Skirmishes were going on between Shafi and the Sikhs⁸

19th—Surjan Khan Mandal marched towards Damla, but the Sikhs checked his progress. Mirza Zain ul Abidin, the commander's brother, was also ready to desert Shafi, but he was ultimately prevailed upon to stay. The Sikhs intended to raid the upper Doab and Shafi also showed inclination to march in their pursuit if so ordered as he liked to spend the rainy season on the other side of the Jumna, (apparently for safety) stating that he would renew the campaign early in winter⁹

22nd—Shafi deputed his agent Jai Singh Rai to Diwan Singh, Bhagel Singh and Gurdatt Singh offering lenient terms for peace but they did not agree¹⁰

26th—Dahil Khan advised Shafi to canton for the rainy season at Buriya¹¹

28th—Two Sikh horsemen have crossed the Jumna, and 500 Sikhs are wandering in the neighbourhood of Sikandara. The Sikhs daily move about Buriya¹²

29th—Shafi was still at Ghat Nakum Tabar. The Sikhs offered him terms for peace which the Mirza did not accept¹³

July 1780

2nd—The Mirza was ordered by the Delhi Court to canton at Radaur for the rainy season,¹⁴ (but Mirza Shafi stuck fast to his post at the Ghat of Nakum Tabar on the Jumna and ultimately fell back on his base at Kunjpura)

¹ Ibid 292b

² Ibid 298b

³ Ibid 303a 304b

⁴ Ibid 303b 308a-b

⁵ Ibid 307b

⁶ Ibid 311b

⁷ Ibid 315a-b

⁸ Ibid 319b

⁹ Ibid 328a-b

¹⁰ Ibid 335b 336a

¹¹ Ibid 340a

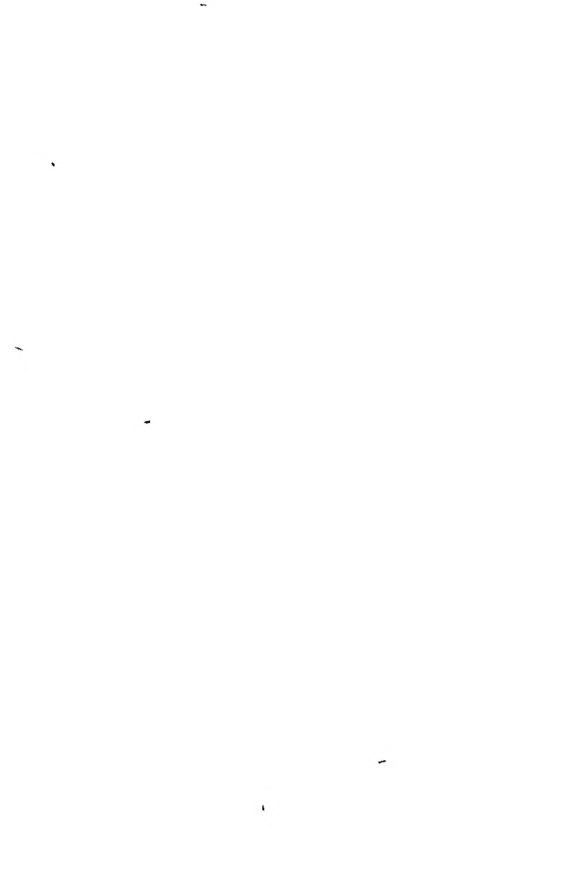
¹² Ibid 343b

¹³ Ibid 345b

¹⁴ Ibid 344a

معدنہ مرزا شعیب خان اتر شد چرا کہ لوح ملیکہ کنند
خان مدکور تھا مار نمی آرد و تکلف خرج نہایت است

مناجم مستم حی سنگہ راہی از نرد کہان مدکور آمدہ
عوض کرد کہان نورسندہ آدمیاب قبول نمی کنند



HISTORY OF SURAT TILL IT CAME UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

[By Dr H. N. Sinha, M.A. Ph.D.(Lond.)]

In the history of British beginnings in India between 1757 and 1761 very much attention is paid to the eastern regions of India and comparatively little to the western regions. There seems to be no end of the stirring events in Bengal and the Karnatic while on the west coast everything seems to be quiet and dull. In the lime light of Plassey and Wandiwash all else appear pale. Yet the British beginnings on the west coast reveal a story of unfailing vigilance and increasing ascendancy in spite of the Marathas then in their highest power and glory. Their achievements at Gheria, their complete political control of the government of Surat, and their negotiations for the acquisition of Salsette—these episodes may not be very gripping in their details but their importance in the ultimate triumph of the British over the Marathas can never be underrated. Here we will take up only the narrative of Surat till it passed under the control of the British.

In commerce Surat was the only port open to no other port. Inland trade owing to the influence of the

Agra, Delhi and Lahore. Ships arrived from the Konkan and Malabar Coast, while from the outer world besides the flourishing European trade merchants came from Arabia, the Persian Gulf, Ceylon and Acheen in Sumatra. It was also for the Mughal Empire the blessed port (Bandar Mubarak) of embarkation for Mecca. And it was because of these circumstances that the British East India Company founded a factory there in spite of the opposition of Portuguese in 1612. Shortly after they obtained a farman from the Mughal Emperor and made it the seat of a Presidency. For more than fifty years they drove a vigorous trade, but owing to the political troubles attending the latter half of Aurangzeb's reign the trade declined and in 1687 it was reduced to an agency, as the Presidency was shifted to Bombay.

After the death of Aurangzeb anarchy prevailed in most parts of the Empire, and following the example of many of his compeers the Governor of Surat proclaimed himself independent. Then followed a period of trouble and disorder that continued for the next twenty six years and resulted in a rapid decline of the trade and general prosperity of the City. This state of affairs was put an end to only after the British took over the control of the City in 1759, the circumstances of which are narrated below.

Under the Mughal government the command of the Surat Castle was kept distinct from the administration of the City. The commandant and the garrison of the Castle received from the Mughal Emperor jagirs and assignments on the revenue of the district for their maintenance. But these became less productive from 1720 when Shera Khan the Nazim or Viceroy of Gujarat and his brother Roostum Khan then the Hakem or the Mutsudee (i.e. Civil Officer) of Surat related to have been slain in battle by Ahmed Khan supported by Pillajee the father of Damajee, an ancestor of the present Guyewar princes who used thereafter to collect annually, on his own account, part of the revenue of the province over the whole of which the government of this branch of the Marathas is said to have become fully established on or before the year 1734, the town of Surat and Cambay and their dependencies and some others on the coast excepted."

For the maritime protection of the western coast of their empire the Mughal Emperors maintained a fleet under command of the Sidee of Rajapur. He was

Commandant of the Castle But in 1748 a relative of the late Nawab Teigh Beg Khan, by name Mainuddin Khan took possession of the Castle with the sanction of the Mughal authority, and subsequently with the help of the Sidee and the English expelled Sudder Khan from the Governorship of Surat. In 1751, however, Bakr Khan won back the Governorship of the town after an attack on Mainuddin Khan, who now was forced to seek refuge in the Castle "which fell in consequence of these dissensions into the custody of Sidee Mussacod", of Rajapur or Janjira To gain greater success Bakr Khan now applied for assistance to Damajee and promised to cede half the revenues of Surat after his father Sudder Khan was reinstated in the Governorship of Surat In this the Sidee was also helpful Consequently after the father and son took possession of the government of Surat they agreed to assign to Damajee a third part of the Surat revenue and to the Sidee a third part of the tolls on grain and of the income from the Court of Justice "In 1752-53 Damajee agreed among other concessions to cede to his superior the Paishwa, one moiety of his Chout, or rather third share of the Surat Revenue" Thus the Peshwa came to have an interest in the affairs of Surat

Now the Sidee who retained his hold on the Castle, and Sudder Khan the Governor, did not pull on well, and in January 1757 a negotiation was set on foot between the latter and Mr Brabazon Ellis, the chief of the Factory of Surat, for expelling Sidee from the Castle, which was to be given up to the Nawab and the fleet to be resigned to the Company, for the support of which they were to receive one lac of rupees a year from the Nawab The Nawab was also to compel the Dutch who were a rival of the English "to withdraw their factories from Rajapere, Cutch and all other places equally adjacent to Surat" But this negotiation fell through owing to a difference arising between the Nawab and his partisan Ali Nawaz Khan The latter was secretly inclined to court the help of the Sidee and the Dutch to overthrow the Nawab, while there was one Pharas Khan, who having the support of the Marathas aimed at Nawabship for himself It was owing to the support of the Marathas that the Bombay Government resolved in December 1757 to open a correspondence with Pharas Khan But in January 1758 Sudder Khan suddenly died and was quietly succeeded by Ali Nawaz Khan Two years before (1756) Sidee Ahmed Khan had succeeded his father Sidee Mussacod in the command of the Castle

Now the people of Surat became so dissatisfied with Ali Nawaz Khan that they requested Mr Ellis to induce the Company to take possession of the Castle, the government and the fleet, from which the Bombay authorities were deterred on account of their "dread of the resentment of the Maratha Government who had views at this time of taking Surat to themselves" In the meanwhile Mainuddin Khan taking advantage of this state of affairs and with the help of Sidee Ahmed expelled Ali Nawaz Khan in December 1758 and seized the Nawabship for himself. The role of "King maker" that the Sidee was successfully playing, together with his command of the Castle emboldened him to molest the English in various ways This to a renewal of the intention to obtain for and to fix Pharas Khan in the Civil government of the City... or at least, if that was found impracticable, to make him Naib to Atchen (Mainuddin Khan)

In this they were resolved "to anticipate the designs either of the Marathas or of any European nation. Indeed the Maratha fleet under the command of Naroo Pant and Damajee who was Gaicwar's agent were already at Surat watching the developments when on 15th February the Company's fleet arrived with a land force of 801 European Infantry 1 500 Sepoys and a detachment of Royal Artillery. Bombay authorities had already written letters to Naroo Pant and Damajee assuring them that there was no intention to trench or innovate on their masters' just rights and interests at Surat. In spite of that the Company's forces horse sword etc arrived from Nana

who thus encouraged refused to give up the Nawabship while the party in favour of Pharas Khan in the City did not show any enthusiasm for his cause. It was owing to this indifference of Pharas Khan's party and a consideration of the possible Maratha support for Mainuddin Khan that on the 4th of March 1759 a treaty was concluded between the English and Mainuddin Khan by which Pharas Khan was to be installed as the latter's Naib and the Sidee was to give up the Castle and the fleet to the English. Nawab Mainuddin further agreed to fulfil all the stipulations into which Pharas Khan had entered with the English. Subsequently in approval of these transactions Mr Spencer who represented the Company received two Imperial farmans one from Nizam ul mulk under the date of 24th June 1759 desiring him to look to the peace of the inhabitants and the preservation of His Majesty's Castle and of the trade in these seas', and another from the

Mughal Emperor Kelladaree
or the Gaikwar the Khan
the King's
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September 1759 commanding Mainuddin Khan the Governor of Surat to pay two
lacs of rupees per annum to the Company for the maintenance of the fleet

Thus finally the British succeeded in taking over the control of the Castle, the maintenance of the fleet the Sidee. The Marathas acquire control of the City

of the British Company now. Just as the Maratha operations at Gheria in active co-operation with the English was a mistake similarly the indifference that the British acquired control of the Castle and The nature and extent of the gain been thus described in a contemporary document

Surat has ever been considered as the Emporium of this side of India a chief source of procuring an extensive investment of piece goods for the Europe market a city admirably well situated for a general mart to the Red Sea and Persian Gulf by land and water connecting the produce and wants of Hindustan, Deccan Malabar, Arabia Persia Europe and China. It is besides the only check to the absolute dominion of the Marathas in these parts a certain recourse of draught cattle and provisions in case of War and an open communication by land to convey intelligence to any part of India.

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Vol XXII, pp 155 ff

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horse, sword, etc arrived from Nana (Peshwa) to Atchen (Maimuddin Khan)," who thus encouraged, refused to give up the Nawabship while the party in favour of Pharas Khan in the City did not show any enthusiasm for his cause. It was owing to this indifference of Pharas Khan's party and a consideration of the possible Maratha support for Maimuddin Khan that on the 4th of March 1759 a treaty was concluded between the English and Maimuddin Khan by which Pharas Khan was to be installed as the latter's Naib and the Sidee was to give up the Castle and the fleet to the English. Nawab Maimuddin further agreed to fulfil all the stipulations into which Pharas Khan had entered with the English. Subsequently in approval of these transactions Mr Spencer who represented the Company received two Imperial farmans one from Nizam ul mulk under the date of 24th June 1759 desiring him "to look to the peace of the inhabitants and the preservation of His Majesty's Coast" and another from the "Kelladaree" Khan-ling's 18th September 1759 granting the "Kelladaree"

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SCARCITY IN BIHAR (1783 AND 1792).

(By Mr. Kalipada Mitra, M.A., B.L.)

The harvest of 1782 was extremely poor owing to the failure of the *Hathiyā* rain. Next year also the autumnal rains failed—there was no rain since the third week of August. The price of rice rose to 20 seers the rupee, and a serious scarcity was apprehended. The prospect of realizing revenue looked exceedingly gloomy. William Augustus Brooke, the Revenue Chief of Bihar, was managing affairs with great difficulty. He recommended a general settlement. John Shore, the Acting President of the Committee of Revenue, was deputed to Bihar to enquire into the scarcity, make a new settlement and effect as far as possible the recovery of the balances. He came to Bihar in October 1783.

It was popularly suspected that the merchants were hoarding grain to inflate its price artificially and thereby to make an unholy profit. Sir J. F. W. James observes: "This idea always prevails in times of scarcity, it was common in 1770, and though experience has shown it to be practically always ill founded, it invariably re appears, whenever high prices rule."¹

Brooke wrote to the Committee of Revenue on September 24, 1783: "Should rice for some days past, can expect no supplies if possible been more severely felt than in this province. I am confident that there must be grain sufficient to answer the consumption of more than one year, but the people in whose possession it is take advantage of the necessities of the poor, but were proper measure adopted this evil might be remedied."²

As a matter of fact famine was apprehended in the Vizier's province. A Cleveland, Collector of Bhagalpur, was asked by the Committee of Revenue to take off duties on the transportation of all kinds of grain for the two months of October and November.³ He was further warned that they had received information from many districts of the failure of crops and impending famine, and prescribed the times monthly and an account of the several that the people did not take advantage of the

He was further forwarded an extract from the minutes of the Council of the

provide remission for these persons and that all duties on every kind of grain were to be suspended.⁴

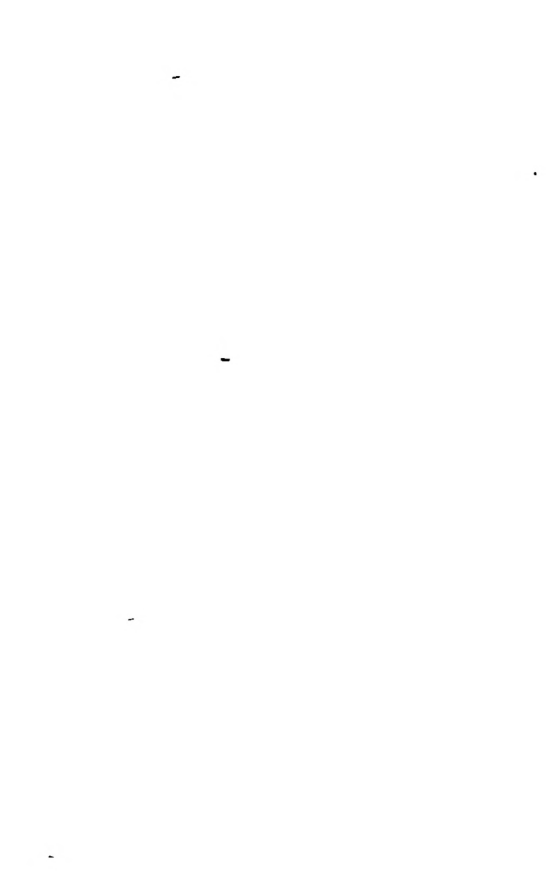
¹ James—*Selections from the Correspondence of the Revenue Chief of Bihar*, p. 36

² Shahabad Records

³ Letter No 119 dated 30th September 1783 from S. Charters and C. Croftes to A. Cleveland, Collector, Bhagalpur (Bhagalpur Collector's Records)

⁴ Letter No 123, dated 13th October, 1783 from same to same—Bhagalpur Records

⁵ Letter No 124, dated 16th October, 1783 from William Bruere, Assistant Secretary, Council Chamber to A. Cleveland (Bhagalpur Records)



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He was further forwarded an extract from the minutes of the Council of the 14th October 1783 containing resolutions to the effect that the Residents of Lucknow and Benares were to give facilities to all persons intending to settle in Bihar and Bengal to save themselves from famine and the Board of Revenue was directed to provide residence for these persons and that all duties on every kind of grain were to be suspended.⁴

¹ James—*Select one from the Correspondence of the Revenue Chief of Bihar* p 36

² Shahabad Records

³ Letter No 119 dated 30th September 1783 from S Charters and C Croftes to A Cleveland Collector Bhagalpur (Bhagalpur Collector's Records)

⁴ Letter No 193 dated 13th October 1783 from same to same—Bhagalpur Records

⁵ Letter No 194 dated 16th October 1783 from William Bruere Assistant Secretary Council Chamber to A Cleveland (Bhagalpur Record.)

G F Grand, Collector of Tirhoot, got the following letter from the Committee of Revenue at Fort William in Bengal dated 13th October, 1783 "The general information we have received from districts of the crops having been considerably hurt from a want of rain and the consequent rise in the price of every article of produce renders it necessary that immediate and effective precautions should be taken to prevent the ill effects arising either from a real or whatever will be equally distressing to the inhabitants and artificial scarcity creating (*sic*) by merchants from hoarding grain greatly enhancing the price of it and withholding the usual supplies from the public markets

We direct that you do in the most public manner issue orders by beat of drum in all the bazars and gunges in the districts under your charge declaring that if
 ll it at a
 manner

He received another letter from the same on the 17th October 1783

The Hon ble Board having taken into consideration the famine much apprehended in the Northern provinces and which has already ravaged with the utmost severity to the westward have come to some Resolutions which are now communicated to you for your information and guidance

You will exert your utmost endeavours to make it effectual and issue proclamation ordered by the Hon ble Board in the most public manner and if after that complaints be made to you about any person under any description whatever stopping grain for duties or actually collecting them you will seize such person and send him a prisoner to Calcutta together with the proofs of his guilt and by your enquiry into the complaint as we are firmly resolved that no offenders in this respect shall escape an exemplary punishment *

James says The proclamation was not so far as I am aware carried into effect in a single instance

The Collectors of Tirhoot and Saran endeavoured to protect their own district by prohibiting exportation of grain They were forbidden by Shore to do so Grand received a communication dated the 18th October 1783

* The distress which prevails in the city of Patna and Dinapore from the scarcity of grain rendering it absolutely necessary that some immediate measures should be adopted for removing it as far as possible I think it necessary that you issue positive orders for removing every embargo on the exportation of grain from the districts under your charge and allow the Beparies and merchants to purchase it freely and so export it without molestation to all parts of Behar notwithstanding any orders you may have received to the contrary from the Committee of Revenue

As many
 hold the sale c
 I recommend

that you do for this purpose make the most particular enquiries after grains and in case the holders should refuse to bring it to market that you seize it and dispose of it at the prevailing rate ' *

The Board of Revenue disapproved of his having interrupted the free exportation of grain from his district (letter of 27th October, 1783)

* and * Record Room of the Collector of Muzaffarpore

* *Ibid*

Similarly the Collector of Purnea fearing that exportation of grain from his district was liable to cause a greater distress therein prohibited it but was soon warned to withdraw his orders of prohibition. He, however, complained subsequently to the Committee of Revenue (November 6, 1783) that by allowing an unlimited exportation of grain his district would be exposed to danger.⁹

On the 23rd of October, 1783 the Committee of Revenue issued a circular letter to Collectors¹⁰ acquainting them that the Governor General in Council had resolved that a Committee consisting of four servants of the Company, viz, Messrs Thomas Graham, George Cumming Thomas Law and George Temple was to be appointed

called the Committee of Grain

The following advertisement was issued

"The Honorable the Governor General and Council having by the exemption of the duties on grain as notified in their orders published the 16th instant removed every cause of interruption to the free sale and transportation of grain throughout and beyond the provinces, the proprietors of grain being therefore left without any substantial pretence for withdrawing its sale and circulation Notice is hereby given to all merchants, Europeans as well as natives, Beparies, ryots Goldars and ammulgars zemindars, renters and others that whoever shall be found to hoard up and to evade bringing to market the grain they may have in store over and above what may be esteemed necessary for the subsistence of their Havelies or to attempt selling it at an exorbitant price shall upon information and sufficient evidence thereof be subject to have the whole confiscated and to such other penalties as Government may think proper to inflict"

On the same day the latter wrote to Collectors referring them to the circular

Grand received the following letter from the Committee of Revenue dated 13th November, 1783

"Under the present apprehension of a scarcity of grain in many of the districts of Bengal and Behar it becomes necessary to shew that a calamity not only by polies and the enhancer a real scarcity but also a calamity through the agency of the servants of the Company the most accurate state of the resources of the country in the event of the calamity becoming more extensive either within the company's provinces, in those of the Nabob Vizier, or Benares

As a more effectual mode of acquiring this information we direct that you do immediately make a progress into the districts under your charge and by a careful and accurate enquiry ascertain the quantity of grain now in deposit and by local observation form the best possible judgement of the state of the crops now on the

⁹ Hunter's Bengal Records, No 565

¹⁰ Letter dated 23rd October, 1783 to G F Grand, Collector of Tirhut from Committee of Revenue (Collector, Muzaffarpur), also letter No 27, dated 23rd October, 1783 from Committee of Revenue to A Cleveland (Bhagalpur Records)

ground and of the comparative produce of the present with that of the former years' ¹¹

As a safeguard against scarcity it was proposed to establish granaries in districts. In a letter No 130, dated 27th October, 1783 the Assistant Secretary, Council Chamber, Calcutta authorised Cleveland "to establish granaries according to his proposal". In another letter (No 136, dated 10th November, 1783) the Committee of Grain requested him "to provide grain for the granaries established under orders of the Governor General in Council". On Shore's recommendation the erection of a granary at Bankipur was sanctioned in January 1784 and "it was promptly built but it has never been filled in anticipation of scarcity". It was built under the supervision of Captain (afterwards General) John Garstin ¹²

of Purnea issued
h was not autho
rs for appropriat
ing any part of the revenue to the purchase of grain, but the Collector produced the requisite authority from the Committee of Grain ¹³

The ryots of Purnea complained that notwithstanding severe drought in the district the farmer insisted on demanding revenue from them. The extent of the distress of the district can be gauged from the petition of the farmer of Purnea who reported that owing to the drought it would be necessary to advance *taklail* of Rs 60 000 to the ryots ¹⁴

The Committee of Grain in January 1784 asked the collectors to report promptly the result of their enquiries (since the season of reaping the harvest had nearly expired) as to the quantity of grain produced that year in the districts under their charge as well as of the quantity in store of the produce of former years ¹⁵

Apparently the situation had improved meanwhile. In June 1784 the Committee of Grain rescinded the resolution suspending duties on grain and ordered the levying of duties thereon ¹⁶. But the merchants were still hoarding grain and selling it at an exorbitant price. Hence the Committee had to prohibit the practice ¹⁷

The harvest of 1784 had so far improved that it was no longer thought necessary to continue the Committee of Grain *in toto*. It was partially abolished, only the President being retained. He was given an assistant and a writer ¹⁸

¹¹ Muz Records

A copy of Resolution passed by the Hon ble the Governor General and Council in their Secret Department of Inspection on January 27 1785 is quoted below

' The objects proposed on the establishment of the Committee of grain have now been answered and the necessity that dictated the establishment in its present extent no longer exists

The Board have satisfaction in knowing from the Governor General who acquainted them upon undoubted authority that the Natives in general acknowledge with gratitude the obligation they owe to this Government for their timely and effectual interposition to save them from the dreadful effects of a famine and that the establishment of this Committee has contributed to rescue many thousands probably from misery and destruction The Board cannot but feel the most sensible pleasure in contemplating the beneficial effects of this institution, and as the same necessity which required its formation may again exist as an office of this kind can only act with advantage and efficacy from experience and as that experience can only result from a constant and permanent operation it is resolved that a partial abolition only be made of this office The Board being convinced that the Company must approve the continuance of an establishment that has for its object the preservation of the lives of its subjects Agreed therefore that the establishment of the Committee only be abolished but that the President of it do still remain invested with the same powers and control that the Committee now exercise and under such further regulations as the Board may hereafter deem necessary ¹⁹

It has already been observed that as a measure of combating famine in the future Government ¹⁸ basis throughout the November 1784 to (dars of the districts u. raising a fund for c the provinces App this proposition as the Committee in a letter dated 22nd September 1785 urged Robert Bathurst to lose no time in transmitting his reply ²⁰

In the autumn of 1786 the people of the Tirhoot district were in great distress G T Grand asked the Board of he inhabitants overtaken by the Board thought that the amount far exceeded their expectations but authorised the advance provided measures were taken to afford real assistance in the cultivation of the soil and asked him at what future time the entire money would again be recovered to Government for which they relied on his efforts as soon as the condition of the country would admit ²¹

The Collectors had regularly to send the statement of price current of grain ²² 1788 to Collectors required the Collectors districts—duce of the past years and the current year (2) the prospect from the crops of the present season not yet reaped or now reaping together with (3) an account of the price it now bears compared with that in the past two years (4) how far the quantity may be supposed

¹⁹ Records of Shahabad and other Collector's Record Rooms

²⁰ Muzaffarpur Records

²¹ Records of the Collector of Darbhanga

²² Hunter, op cit letters Nos 764 784 and 817 dated 27th September 11th and 25th October 1784

adequate to provide for the internal consumption and afford the usual exportation' The Collector of Saran replied on the 9th March as follows

- (1) There is very little or hardly any quantity of grain of the past years' produce remaining in the country, I conceive about 3 lac mds to be in store of the produce of the current year,
- (2) the prospect from the crops not yet reaped or now reaping by the measurement of the cultivated lands obtained from the Qanoongoes may be estimated to amount to 15 lac mds and the quantity estimated for exportation during the remaining six months of year cannot be supposed to exceed one lac mds" He enclosed the following comparative statement

A comparative statement of the price of grain in the districts of Sarcar Saran

Kind of Grain	The price it now bears			The price of 1193			That of 1194		
Raw Rice—									
1st sort	1	0	4	1	15	0	1	20	8
2nd sort	1	2	6	1	17	0	1	22	4
3rd sort	1	4	3	1	20	10	1	25	0
Usna Rice—									
1st sort	1	6	0	1	25	0	1	28	11
2nd sort	1	7	11	1	27	12	1	30	0
Santee	1	9	12	1	29	0	1	37	9
Wheat—									
1st sort	1	7	1	1	27	7	1	31	12
2nd sort	1	11	4	1	30	0	1	37	0
Urhur	1	27	13	2	5	0	2	11	5
Gram	1	4	6	1	16	8	1	20	0
Pease	1	26	10	2	4	10	2	9	8
Boot—									
1st sort	1	18	5	1	35	8	1	39	0
2nd sort	1	21	10	2	0	0	2	5	0
Mustard Seed	1	4	1	1	20	7	1	27	0
Teesy	1	7	10	1	27	0	1	32	0
Junara	1	24	10	1	37	11	2	10	0
Moong	0	13	7	0	20	0	0	27	13
Barley	1	31	10	2	10	5	2	16	7
Masooray	1	16	13	1	30	0	1	37	12
Paddy	1	28	13	3	0	0	3	15	0
Kharay	1	37	15	2	28	0	3	9	8

On the 30th January 1788 the Collector of Purnea informed John Shore, President and members of the Board of Revenue that it was impossible for him to form an estimate of the stock of grain in hand, but he informed them that the quantity exported that year (1788) greatly exceeded that of previous years²¹

In answer to his representation on the necessity of making advances to the ryots, he was authorised to advance Rs 10 000 *as talkar*:²²

On the 23rd of April 1788 he requested Mr Marmaduke Grey, his assistant, to make a tour throughout the district for the purpose of ascertaining the quantity of grain in the granaries of merchants the names of the proprietors and what might be spared without distress to the inhabitants

²¹ Hunter (op cit) No 1395 dated April 30 and May 9, 1788

On the 4th June, 1788 the Governor General issued orders directing the Collectors to desist from all further interference in the purchase, sale or transportation of grain in their respective districts and from the pursuit of their investigations into the quantity in store. The Collector of Purnea received from E. Hay, Secretary to Government, a letter forwarding a complaint preferred by some merchants (Sang Singh, Sita Singh and Pertom Singh) that he had detained a quantity of grain bound for the Calcutta market at Carragola, for which the Governor General was much displeased at his conduct, as order had been given to him not to discourage exportation. He explained (23rd July) that when he had received orders from Government to ascertain the quantity of grain in his district, he attached the said store of grain at Carragola. A considerable portion of it consisted of mustard seed of which at that time there was a great scarcity at Purnea. He therefore ordered 30 or 40 mds to be brought and sold in the town. When he received orders for discontinuing the enquiry, he returned the remaining grain immediately to the owners. He took off the embargo and offered not the least obstruction to their exportation of the grain to Calcutta. Yet from a letter from the Board of Revenue dated 26th August, 1788 we find that various complaints were preferred against the Collector at the Khalsa of his having stopped boats of merchants laden with grain in different parts of the country. He was particularly enjoined to exert himself in carrying the intention of Government into full execution by preventing every infringement of the orders on the part of the Zamindars and others under his authority.

On the 20th December, 1788 he received the following communication from G. H. Barlow

Lord Cornwallis has desired me to acquaint you that from the account lately received from the Resident at Benares, it is probable there will be great scarcity

to despatch considerable quantity to Benares on the account of Government. His Lordship

On March 4, 1789 he was asked to purchase one lac mds of rice and despatch it to Calcutta without delay²⁴

The records at Purnea dealing with the famine of 1791 were reported to be not available at the time of inspection, probably they were mislaid somewhere. The statement of prices of grain submitted by the Collector of Purnea on 17th October, 1794 for the period from 1788-89 to 1792-93 shows that the situation improved after 1792.

	1196	1197	1198	1199	1200	
	Md sr	Md sr	Md sr	Md sr	Md sr	
Bhadon Paddy	2 30	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 20	} For a rupee.
Rice	1 20	1 20	1 25	1 15	1 20	
Fine Arwa Rice	0 30	0 32	0 35	0 30	0 33	
I am giving her	" "	" "	" "	" "	" "	
January to 1st Feb						from 16th
those prevailing in						also (B)
be seen that the prices of rice in 1791 had risen four times those of the previous year and the prices of all other articles had doubled or tripled (vide Appendix)						It will

²⁴ Purnea Records

The severity of famine was very greatly felt in the district of Shahabad. I am here quoting an extract from the letter of the Collector of Shahabad under date the 14th January, 1792 to William Cowper, Esq., President and members of the Board of Revenue:

"My next care was to proceed to a local inspection of the several villages wherein the greatest losses were expected to arise and it is with concern I am obliged to confirm the report before made of the miserable situation to which the pergunah (Chaintre) has been reduced,—the severity of the drought has been more prevalent here than in any other part of the district and the consequences to be apprehended from it more alarming. Scarcely a drop of water has fallen within these

but in many situations their utmost exertions have been baffled, in some water is not to be had, in others the loose sandy soil is so unfavourable for well digging that the earth is constantly falling in and in all places hands are wanted to keep in cultivation more than the lands lying contiguous to their habitations and villages."

In 1794 the Governor General in Council resolved to establish public granaries in different parts of the country so that Government always might have in their possession a quantity of grain to answer exigencies in seasons of scarcity.²⁵

In succeeding years it appears that the situation in Behar improved. In 1798 the Governor General in Council passed a resolution under date the 24th December, 1798 immediately directing the Board of Revenue to issue orders to the Collector of Benares and the several Collectors in Behar to purchase and send up to the Fort of Allahabad such quantities of fresh grain fit for store as each of them may be desired by the Resident at Lucknow, without waiting for whose advice they were to commence purchasing and collecting grain for the above purpose immediately.²⁶

That the situation had become to a certain extent easier in 1799 will appear from the following quotation of Price Current of Grains from 15th to 19th October 1799 in Purnea :

										Md ar		
Basmatty Rice—												
1st sort										0	30	}
2nd sort										1	0	
3rd sort										1	5½	
Aghany Rice—												
1st sort										1	15	}
2nd sort										1	20	
Bhadon Rice—												
1st sort										1	25	}
2nd sort										1	27½	
Paddy—												
1st sort										2	30	}
2nd sort										2	35	
Gohum (wheat)—												
1st sort										1	10	}
2nd sort										1	22	
3rd sort										1	30	
Jaw												
										2	35	

For a rupee.

¹ G. H. Barlow, Sub Secretary to Revenue Department to Collector of Purnea, 17th October, 1794—Purnea Records.

³⁴ Proceedings of the Rt. Honble Governor General in Council in Political Department dated 24th December, 1798—Saran Records

	Wd	sr	
Boot (gram)	1	21	} For a rupee
Cubhi (pease)	1	10	
Moong	1	10	
Khesaree	2	10	
Masoor	1	27½	
Arhar	1	0	
Muttar	1	25	
Mustard	0	30	
Till	0	22½	
Dal of Arhar	0	27½	
Dal of Khesari	1	27½	
Dal Moong	0	35	
Dal Culthi	1	5	
Dal of Boot	1	2½	
Dal Masoor	1	12½	

APPENDIX

PRICES OF GRAINS

Statement A

	Sarcar Saran Sr for Re 1	Sarcar Champaran Sr for Re 1.
Raw Rice -		
1st Class	88	100
2nd Class	110	120
3rd Class	130	130
Usna Rice—		
1st Class	125	130
2nd Class	150	150
3rd Class	160	166
Santeo	105	190
Barley	95	100
Janura	240	150
Pease	140	150
Boot Gram—		
1st Class	115	150
2nd Class	120	150
Khesary Dal	170	125
Urhar	145	140
Oil	19	25
Mustard Seed	90	120
Kodo	105	110
Wheat	140	150
Maroca	110	115
Sawan	115	120

APPENDIX TO PRICES OF GRAINS

Statement B

	Md	sr	ch	
Rice—	0	21	15	} For a rupee
1st sort	0	28	12	
2nd sort	0	33	8	
3rd sort	0	37	2	
Rice in Husk	1	2	3	
Kodo	1	17	6	
Santi	1	14	0	
Paddy	0	39	12	
Wheat	0	21	12	
Wheat Flour	1	17	6	
Barley	1	10	11	
Pease	1	3	12	
Arrah—	0	30	6	
Grain	0	18	8	
Dal	1	14	0	
Mustard Seed	0	28	10	
Congrey	1	20	12	
Teesy	1	0	8	
Janera	1	15	12	
Musvory Grain	1	5	9	
Shammah	0	8	0	
Boot	0	19	0	
Moog	1	0	0	
Poppy Seed	0	36	0	
Chinah	0	37	3	
Khesary				
Manskull				

THE DASTŪRU 'L' AMAL OF THE BIJĀPUR COURT.

(By Mr. K. K. Basu, M A)

The Dastūru 'l' Amal, meaning a model or rule, contains a register of duties of the officials of the court. Recommendatory in character, the regulations throw some light on the actual working of the Muslim administrative system, its inner springs and practical effects. The official handbooks compiled by Mussabihī, Ibn Tuwair, Ibn Mammātī and others supply the reader with a description of the etiquette at the court, rules for the diwan and records of official surveys under the Khalīfate.

In imitation of the Khalīf's court, the Dasturu 'l' Amals were compiled in Mughal India in the Seventeenth Century. They principally deal with the revenue, expenditure, official procedure, functions of officers, weights and measures, rates of jazya, classification of officers, rules regulating promotion, dismissal and leave of officers and the like.

The Muslim ruling dynasties of southern India like the Mughals of the trans-vindhya ranges on the north had their own Dasturu 'l' Amal. Such official guide-books like the Mughal court manuals were prepared in the Seventeenth Century. Ibrāhīm Zubūrī, the author of *Basātin us Salātin*, gives a summary of the Dastūru

Shāl

and

machinery in particular. It provides a running survey of the duties of the sovereign, his daily life, his principle of administration, of the Hindus, their status and privileges, of the position of the slaves and the treatment that was accorded to them and other matters.

patriotism and in turn the rise of sectarian patriotism aided the development of sectarian monarchy.

Duties of the King —The Bijāpurī Dastūru 'l' Amal lays down that, the foremost duty of the sovereign is to practise equity in the administration of justice, for, the ruler who has done justice in one moment of his life is much better than one who has passed his life in devotion to God.

The Sultan should look to the comforts of the subject population and make the country habitable and pleasant. The prosperity of the land and the well being of the people lead to dynastic and imperial stability and overfulness of the state Exchequer. They form the chief asset in the pursuit of fortune.

The ruler should collect an army of warlike soldiers and appoint faithful and intelligent ministers. It is with the help of the soldiers that the Sultan reigns; the latter should, therefore, take particular care of the soldiers and keep them above all want.

Having conquered territories, recruiting a strong militia, and set the govern-

their status and rank with jagirs or salaries. They should not be left without employment as they might create disturbances.

Daily routine of the king —The king should be diligent and hardworking. From morning till the third tās¹ he should pass his time in company of the learned scholars and poets and discuss on current events

From the fourth to the sixth tās he should hold his seat in the hall of public audience and exact obeissance from the high officials, nobles soldiery and people living nearby From the seventh to ninth tās he should carry on the business of

rest and have a will of his own

On every full moon, the Sultan should hold public darbar when the high officials, governors, qazis, writers, scholars, officers, students and others pay him respect. The Sultan should remain in his seat till the third tās of the night

On the beginning of the month, the Sultan should take his seat in the *Did-i-Mahal* palace from morning to the sixth tās and receive homage from the nobles and the viziers The Sultan should take his seat facing east, in his front and parallel to the wall lying at the Sultan's back, the assembled persons should remain posted The assembly hall should be very wide and spacious

Condition of the Hindus —The Hindus should be appointed as *karkuns*² Public demonstration of *holi*, *diwali*, *dashara* and other festivals should be banned, but private observances of Hindu festivities should not be interfered with If any Muslim happen to treat a Hindu with disrespect the matter should be ignored It should be the look out of the government that no Hindu however powerful he may be has an advantage over a Muslim Jizya should be levied on the Hindus, other idolators and renegades according to the injunctions of the Muhammadan law Those wealthy who lead an easy going life have to pay one tola, 'four *kany*³ and four *kham*s *kany*' of silver every month Those wealthy who stick to work have to pay half a tola and "two *kany* and two *kham*s *kany*' of silver per month the traders employers and professional men have to pay quarter of a tola, "one *kany* and one *kham*s *kany*' Orphans, minors under fifteen years of age < slaves, blind, and sick persons, paralytic, very old and faqirs should be exempted from the payment of the jizya ' court and ma the payment of the jizya to receive the payment should accept i

Justice —The king should deal justice to the plaintiff and the defendant If the plaintiff happens to tell a lie he should be reprimanded and the defendant be given consolation

*Fort*s and *Citadels* —The forts and citadels should be entrusted to old, sincere and experienced officials The officers should be transferred to different places every third year Every citadel or fort that has a large territory under its control should be left under *Naib*, *ghaibat*,⁴ Qazi, Khātib,⁵ and other officials

¹ Basātin us Salātin p 357 reads مالى

² The prayer of sunset or nightfall

³ The registrar of the collections

⁴ The word is probably Deccani urdu, signifying a weight

⁵ Vice gerent

⁶ A preacher

Subās, pergandās and mouzās —
perganas and mouzas and placed in
countries and the important forts should
should be conferred on jagirdars and *īla adars*

Mints weights and measures —Mints should be established in subās, and coins struck like those at the capital. Having due regard for the local customs the weights and measures of the subas should be made to tally with those that prevail at the capital.

Friday prayers —Care should be taken that on every Friday, the Qazī, Khātīb, the officials, nobles and the people assemble at the jamī mosque and read the *Khutba*. Those that are unable to attend the jamī mosque should be made to attend some other masjid. It is the duty of the Khātibs to see that people attend the congregational prayers.

Alms houses —The old alms houses attached to masjids, Āsār Mubārak (memorial house of the Prophet), and the mausoleums of holy persons should be allowed to remain, and steps be taken to keep unimpaired the customary distribution of food to the poor and needy.

Madrasas —In the Āsār Sharīf there should be two madrasas for imparting lessons in *Hādīs* (sayings or traditions of Muhammad), *Fiqā* (theology), and *Ilm* provided free of cost with (a kind of polaw) in the Besides the food supplied, d, in addition, books on

Arabic and Persian. Examinations should be held every year and the successful candidates should be presented with huns in cash.

Eler
for child
studies
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Annual examinations should be held at the end of Zilhijjah and prizes (of one hun) offered to students. The meritorious and successful candidates should be appointed in high and honourable positions.

Maintenance and erection of masjids —Provisions should be made for the repair Every other masjid quarter seer and four administration Ar-rangements should be made for providing the masjids with drinking water, *Saf* i-boria (mattresses), and *gānamāj* i-satranjī (prayer carpets).

In the month of Ramazān the Qur'an should be read at the masjids.

New constructions of masjids —No one should be allowed to construct a masjid in the city without the royal authority. Unless the newly constructed masjids are well provided with means for their sustenance, the act of construction is criminal. But if the construction is absolutely necessary, state maintenance should be sought for such newly reared up prayer houses. It is well that instead of constructing new masjids attempts should be made for establishing guest houses, inns, embankments, wells and reservoirs.

¹ An Indian dish of rice boiled with pulse and spices

Masjids during Ramazān —In the month of Ramazān the mosques should be provided with *Saf : boria*, water-pots, and the prayer houses should be white washed. In the big masjids famous *khatib* and "listeners" should be appointed and they be maintained with government stipends. *Namaz tarawih*¹ should be read in accordance with the *sha'riat*² and *sunnat*³ and the injunctions of the Qazis, *Muftis*,⁴ *Sheikh-ul Musaiikh*⁵ and the Sultan. Steps should be taken that people do not perform any immoral act, such as drinking of wine, and pressure should be put on them in such a manner that they give up their bad habits. The ceremony or anniversaries of holy men who are dead should be properly performed and the necessary rites connected therewith be observed.

The Darwesh who has a residence (*sahib : takiyā*) should be rewarded. In the masjids and the Rauzās arrangements for drinking water be made and lavatories provided. The alms houses attached to jami mosques should supply baked bread to Muslims and flour and *birinj* (rice) to the poor Hindus. The Hindu pedes- day with a seer and a quarter of flour and nd quarter seer of mustard oil, besides fuel

Maintenance of roads —The safety of the roads on the frontiers should be maintained, the conditions of the pedestrians enquired into and the brigands kept in check.

Disbursement of spoils of war —The spoils of war, such as, *zakat* and *khums* should be placed at the jami mosque or mahal *Āsar Mubārak* and spent in accordance with the injunctions of the *Shari'at*. A new department should be established for the disbursement of the money so collected. The faqirs, poor and other deserving people should be protected and according to the Quran they should be given stipends and jagirs.

Official appointments —The officials should be appointed from persons who are respectable, prudent, experienced, foresighted, and religious. The *Majmu'dars*⁶ should be experienced. 2 Qazis, 2 *Sheikh ul Musaiikhs*, 2 *Sadrus Sudūr*⁷ and one

salaries should be paid out of the revenue of the villages which are kept apart for the purpose.

Public charity —Every year, in the month of Rabi ul awwal presentations of money should be made at the *Āsar Sharif*. One thousand huns should be distributed on the 1st day, two thousand on the 2nd day, three thousand on the third day and so on so that, on the 12th day, twelve thousand huns should be spent in charity. The total amount thus distributed in the course of these twelve days should be 78,000 huns.

Likewise on the month of Muharram 55,000 huns should be given away in presentations. In addition to these cash payments four villages should be kept separated for giving jagirs to the servants and nobles of the court.

¹ Twenty or more genuflections which the Muhammadans are wont to make after the last prayer of Ramazan.

The staff of the fort commandants —The governor of a fort should be supplied with 500 cavalry, so that, he might protect the gates and the territories under his control and thus discharge his duties efficiently. He should be also provided with 5,000 warlike *barqandāz*¹, half of which should be artillery men and the other half spearmen. If necessary, the number of soldiers should be increased. In fine, the artillery men and archers should be without any equal in efficiency. The horsemen and footmen should reside at the city.

Trustworthy news writers and truthful chroniclers should be appointed for recording events. A few cavalry and infantry should be lodged at the top and the

Currency —The *Zarrāb khāna* or the mint for coining should be placed under an *Hakīm*² and *Amīl*³. The coins should be made of gold, silver and copper. The huns, half huns and quarter huns should be made of gold *rupiya*, half *rupiya* and quarter *rupiya* be made of silver six *chital*, three *chital* two *chital* and one-*chital* be made of copper.

The species should be made uniform in weight, size and purity. In case of discrepancy the coiners should be duly taken to task.

Gardens roads and shops —The king should put his best efforts in making the city habitable and laying beautiful gardens in it. The beauty of the city is enhanced by the gardens that lie inside and outside the city walls.

The roads that lie between the king's court and the two city gates should be properly and carefully maintained. Shops should be established on both sides of the road so that, the purchasers secure their articles from either side and find little difficulty in their transactions. No seller should be allowed to dispose of his articles inside the road, and no permits should be allowed for erecting shops on it. The shops of the grocers and others should be ranged one after the other on the two sides of the road. The grain sellers of the neighbouring countries should be collected and made to reside in the city. It is in the excess stock of grain that lie the increase of population and the happiness of the soldiery.

Kotwal's duty —The *Kotwal* should keep a vigilant eye on the city and the market place. He must know the thieves and the pickpockets. If he happens to be informed of any theft he should lay his hands on the culprit and punish the miscreants according to the laws of the *Shariat*.

Princes and the high officials of the court not be permitted to tyrannise over the people. In the dispensation of justice and in the handingness the ruler should do proper justice but not before the matter is brought to the cognizance of the judge.

Chain of justice —A stringed bell bigger than those that are kept fastened to the foreparts of the elephants should be hung up in the palace, so that, when the petitioner rings it the sound reaches the innermost recesses of the royal residence where the king may remain and attracts his attention. It is only when the petitioner finds his petition not taken care of by the officials and *munsifs* that he should pull the chord of the bell of justice. It is necessary the people should have an access to the bell at a particular time of the day and not on all hours of the morning or evening.

¹ Guard

² Mint Master

³ Official functionary

Conferment of jagirs —At the time of giving away lands and jagirs, the out-turn of the last three years of the particular land should be taken into consideration. In fixing the yield the maximum return of the three years should not be left out of consideration.

Branding system — for inspection and brand is to maintain in accordance with the regulations on the part of the fief holder is found out in this respect he should be reprimanded and punished and, if necessary, dismissed from office. The officials in charge of branding should impress the official mark by the side of the private stamp of the owner.

Employment of specialists in the arts and sciences —Four experts in arts and sciences should be maintained at the court. They increase the dignity of the royal court. They should be made to perform their duties at stated hours. In some cases the attendance at the court may be exempted. It is the duty of the *Shah-Nawaz* to note the presence and absence of the officers, and in cases of absence, he should institute enquiries into the cause of it. In cases of regular non attendance the matter should be brought to the cognizance of the Sultan.

Rules relating to cleanliness —The main road, streets and lanes, the front of the private residences and market place should all be kept neat and clean.

Nauroz and other festivals Illuminations and Presentations —The market and the shops should be illuminated and embellished on the two Ids, Shab-i-barat, Nauroz and its nine days and the birth day of the Sultan. On the day of Nauroz, the *Nauroza bagh*, where the Sultan occasionally goes for pleasure and trip, should be properly fagged out like the *Rauza-i-Rizuan* (garden of Paradise). All the shops

of the royal harem

Festival on Rabi-ul-awwal —Throughout the month of Rabi-ul-awwal, the holy birth month of the Prophet and especially on the eleventh day of the month on which Muhammad was born, the Sultan should make a pilgrimage to *Asar sharif* (or the hall of the Prophet) and its and dinners of choicest food and dole out gifts to the theologians, scholars, Qazis, and be invited and fed. In such feasts the Sultan should play the host on Thursdays and on the twelfth and fifteenth of the month (Rabi-ul-awwal).

The wide space on the two sides of the *jami masjid*, the vestibule and the balcony filled with pure gold should be kept neat and Hindus and should be supplied with specialists in the arts and sciences.

Dād-mahal market —The markets situated on the two sides of the court area should be composed of shops, spacious and handsome and having long rows of roofs made of stone and mortar. Merchants, traders, and workmen should be made to reside in these shops. Bakeries, confectioneries, dry fruit agencies and flower selling stalls should be established in the market. No space in the market should be allowed to remain unoccupied by the stall keepers and the sale of articles of every description and variety should be encouraged. For the convenience of the people a big reservoir well filled with pure water should be constructed in the open space in front of the court surrounded by shops on both its sides. Trees should be planted in front of the shops for the purpose of enhancing the beauty of the market.

The kotwals and the shop keepers should be enjoined to observe the laws of cleanliness, weeds and straws and dust should be removed. The front of the shops should be levelled and watered.

The shop roofs of the *Dād Mahal* market should be decorated and furnished with sitting accommodation for the Sultan who may inspect the whole transaction of the market from his seat.

The front sides and top of the durbar, and the shops should be decked, and sign-boards with beautiful golden letters hung in the front.

SOME UNPUBLISHED ENGLISH LETTERS RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF BENGAL DURING THE REGIMES OF SHUJĀUDDĪN AND SĀRĀFRAJ.

(By Dr. Kalinkar Datta, M.A , Ph.D , P R S)

The Imperial Record Department of the Government of India preserves in its collections transcripts of some India Office Records, entitled ' Letters from the Council in Calcutta and others to the Court of Directors, dated the 15th December, 1703—the 22nd December, 1748 ' Sir Jydnath Sarkar, Kt , utilized some of these for the first volume of his ' *Fall of the Mughal Empire* ', and I have exhaustively used those dated since 1740 A D , in my own humble way, for my ' *Studies in the History of the Bengal Subah, 1740 70* ' and ' *Alivardi and His Times* '. While writing the chapter on ' *The Successors of Murshid Quli* ' for the ' *History of Bengal* ' to be pub-

imperfect being based only on some Persian works like the *Siyar ul mutakherin*, the *Muzaffarnamāh*, the *Tārīkh-i-Bangalah* and the *Riyaz us salatin*, on *Stewart's History of Bengal*, and on the uncritical and mostly inaccurate accounts of Holwell, Orme and Serafton. The co ordination of these *Bengal Letters* with the contemporary *Consultations* (1) and *Letters from the Court of Directors*, both available not in India but in the India Office in London and extracts from only a few of which have been quoted by C R Wilson in his ' *Old Fort William in Bengal* ' would form a precious supplement to C R Wilson's ' *Early Annals of the English in Bengal* ' (which itself ' entirely superseded ' the ' fragmentary narrative ' given by J Talboys Wheeler in his ' *Early Records of British India, Calcutta, 1878* ') and would serve as a store-

hardly be overestimated

In consideration of limited time and space at our disposal, I am not utilizing here all the materials available in the *Letters*, but am referring only to the more important extracts from some of these just to indicate the importance of the whole series

Adir's invasion —There are some deserving of special notice from the political point of view.
Bengal an
volution'
regarding his march and even adopted some precautionary measures to safeguard their interests in Bihār. The Persian invasion did not, of course, exercise any appreciable influence on the eastern *subah* of the Mughal Empire, and scholars differ in their opinions as to whether the inroads of Ahmad Shah Abdālī, particularly

1Cf Have no Harmony at present with the Country Government for their conduct refer to Consultations of the 24th February 18th March 12th April 27th May, and 9th June. Mr Bradliff etc. and red to accommodate Matters. Translate of the Ferwanah entered 15th July. Letter to Court, 29th January, 1736 para. 83

that of 1766-67, formed a real menace ⁽¹⁾ to Bengal or not ⁽²⁾ But this much is certain that both caused considerable anxiety in the minds of the English as well as other people in Bengal and the latter largely influenced British north-western policy in India It is also highly significant that Nādir's plunder caused silver scarcity, even in the Bengal subah, and had thus some share in producing currency disorders in the province during the 18th century

T... ..
passa
as to
by the paring an
Army of Persia
master

(B) " It is reported Shah Nadir King of Persia has entered the kingdom of Indostan and is on his march to Dilly " (Letter to Court, 7th August, 1738, para 9).

(C) " Shaw Nadir King of Persia after the conquest of Qandahar made himself master
subahs
Shaws
Mahom
who seized and entered Dilly, made himself Master of the Crown Jewels, Treasure and Royalties and plundered the city He then left Mahomet Shaw in possession of the Throne and marched back towards Persia with Immense riches." (Letter to Court, 24th December, 1739, para. 121)

(D) " By the Patna Advices Extracted in consultation appear the Persian's Progress in this Empire, and the necessity for sending a large Party to Patna to Protect the Company's Effects, a Revolution being expected " (Letter to Court, 10th December, 1738, para 26)

(E) " ***feared troubles at latter End of the Season by Revolution, must begin (Investments) Early " (Letter to Court, 24th December, 1739, para 97)

(F) " The storm which threatened that (Delhi) Empire having blown over without affecting the lower provinces where the Aurungs are, Expect the Investment to be fully completed " (*Ibid*, para 101)

(G) " Settling a Factory at Benarass (Benares) put a stop to by Troubles up country shall promote it upon a good footing by Murud Cawn (Murid Khān, Yusuf Ali, f 20, Siyar, Vol II, p 486) at Court " (*Ibid*, para 128)

(H) " Patna desire 30,000 Thuty thousand maund copper may be sent having a sure vend, the Mint-Master agreeing to take all that comes by contract though one hundred thousand maund *****

The Reason for this demand is to coin pice to circulate in the room of silver carried away in immense quantities by Shah Nadir " (Letter to Court, 28th January,, 1739, para 10)

¹Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee, *Verelst's Rule in India*, Chapter I

²Dr Asurbardi Lal Srivastava, *Was the Abdali invasion of 1766-67 a Real Menace to Bengal*, in *Journal of Indian History*, April 1940

Maratha advance to Benares and consequent panic in Bihār — We knew on the authority of some contemporary Persian letters, discovered about two years back at Patna (1738) with a design to government of Bihār s fully corroborate t w the fear of Maratha incursion weighed heavily on the minds of the officers, traders and common people of the eastern province of the Mughal Empire even before it actually fell on them since 1742 A D —

(a) "The Geenims (Marāthas) approach to Bennarass (Benares) with design to plunder Patna Province obliged them to send an Armament to secure the Factory and Effects " (Letter to Court, 29th January, 1738, para 71)

(b) "The Party sent to Patna is detained there till the Government is settled " (*Ibid*, para 73)

(c) "Being Alarmed in April that the Gunaims (Marāthas) had passed Benares to Attack Patna sent 100 men to protect the Factory, but the Rains prevented Badjeray (Baji Rao) entering that province So the detachment was recalled " (Letter to Court, dated 7th August, 1738, para 9)

The Nawab's government and the European traders — The Letters further contain

your, ordered Cossimbazar to let it be known they intended a present of about 8,000 Rupees to the Nabob, but by the avaritious Temper of this Government were frustrated as per the following account

A Gomastah of Contoo's who had fled from justice here exhibited a complaint

after Deserters went into the Nabob's camp who were taken and imprisoned, and at the same time a complaint being made of a much larger quantity of salts (salt-petre) on the Patna Fleet than usually allowed the soldiers, which to accommodate the

at Patna the French have had some of theirs under a long Imprisonment for

absolute as will appear by a renewal of a complaint which was exhibited against

* *Inshā in Gharib*, compiled in 1738 A D by Lālā Ujāgarchānd poetically surnamed 'Gharib' and 'Ulfat' vide *Hindustan Review*, 1938

The Council in Calcutta described Shujā-ud dīn as a "rash and powerful subah" (2) and did not consider it prudent to come to an open "rupture" with him, which

On the strength of some old *firman*s (⁴), it was a year to the Nawāb's government, "in lieu at Hugh, which was still the grand emporium it became necessary for them, for the interest of their trade, to satisfy the Nawāb by paying additional sums of money (⁵). They had also to put up with occasional interferences by the Nawāb in the collection of investments. Thus early in 1733 the Council in Calcutta was "informed from Patna that the Nabob (Nawāb) having marched his troops to the north of the city, towards the ... ing people to Maunds on F

(9) The English further complained against impositions levied on them by the Nawab's customs officers. Thus the Council in Calcutta wrote to the Court of Directors on the 8th February, 1733 —(a) "Can not but continue in the same opinion
Govern-
torted
their

that Investment without satisfying him, and they thought it best to make an Agreement with him for Rupees 4,000 besides the usual present on the Visit which was

²Letter to Court, 26th December, 1733, para. 57.

⁴Stewart *History of Bengal*, Appendices, VIII, IX, X

*Mentioned as Rs 3 000 in the *firman*s

* Letter to Court, 24th January, 1735 para 111

⁷ Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, pp 83-4.

*cf (a) 'The several sums given the Nabob in 1731 were not intended for Loans, and hope the Court will not think them blamable that no part of the Money is recovered' (Letter to Court, 8th February, 1733, para 9)

(b) " Could not comply with the Court's directions on delivering an Arisdast (petition) to the Nabob for demanding the abovementioned money, as it would occasion a Rupture without any hopes of recovering the money " (*Ibid*, para 10)

¹Letter to Court, 8th February, 1733, para 5

1º par. 6

11 parn 27

¹⁸Letter to Court, 10th November, 1733, para. 9.

¹³Letter to Court, 26th December, 1733, para 43

rs of the Council in Calcutta as regards the
was expressed by them in para 57 of
s, dated the 26th December, 1733, wherein
positions of the Government are inclined to
think it will be most advisable to submit to the Expenses by making Presents now
and then to the under officers of the Durbar and those that have authority in several
other places from doing them ill offices " They sought to avoid " engaging in dis-
pute with the Government but when their privileges were attacked " (8)

But in the year 1735 the Nawāb demanded of the English " Arrears of Rent of their Towns, calculating from the year Money was paid on the like occasion of Jaffer Cause (Murshid Qulī Jafar Khān) " (6) A similar demand was made on the Dutch for their settlement at Barānagar (7) Mr Barker, chief of the English factory at Cāssimbāzār, informed the Council in Calcutta that the Nawāb " was determined to have the money at all events disregarding their former Grants etc " (8), and that if he was not " soon satisfied, Affairs must come to an open Rupture " (9) Not to speak of " dropping his Demand " on the English, the Nawāb issued orders " for the prevention of their purchasing saltpetre at Patna " and " stopped their goods at Azemgunge " (near Murshidābad) (10), Hugh, Jellenghee (11) and several other places The Council in Calcutta thereupon decided on the 26th January, 1736, ' to give Mr Barker (chief of the Cāssimbāzār factory), etc a discretional power to accommodate Matters with the Nabob (Nawāb) " (12) At the same time " for the clearance of the Company " they sent up a strong party of M . . . goods was immediately ordered v . . . now decided to " stand out " against the Nawab's impositions (14)

¹ Letter to Court, 24th January, 1735, para 79

² *Ibid.*, para 91.

³ Letter to Court, 28th December, 1735, para. 73

* *Ibid.*

⁵ Letter to Court 28th December 1735, para. 67

² Ibid., para 60

⁷ *Ibid*

* Ibid.

* Ibid.

¹² Letter to Court, 6th February, 1736 para 5

¹¹ Letter to Court, 20th February, 1736 para. 8

²² Letter to Court, 6th February, 1736, para 6

¹⁸ Letter to Court, 20th February, 1736, para. 5

²⁴ Letter to Court, 29th January, 1736 para. 61.

As for the Nawab's demand on "account of the towns" the Dutch had "finished their matters for about the sum demanded including presents to the officers etc" (1) The *Vakil* of the English at the Murshidabad *darbar* informed the Council in Calcutta that "by forbearance and his Dexterity he had hopes of getting a Perwanah for the currency of their business for 10,000" (2) - "At this time" (3) were on this footing the news of their having sent Nabob that he threatened to stop their Business Council regarded this "story" as "very unlikely" (3), connected, in their opinion, by the said *vakil* "with a view of recommending himself and to amuse them with a show of advantage" (4) They argued that the amount mentioned by him was much less than what the Dutch had to pay and that Mr Barker "would not have rejected accommodating Matters when it was to be done for that sum" (5) As a matter of fact, the Nawab refused to accept even 20,000 or 30,000 rupees, offered by the members of the Cāsimbāzar factory, and was determined to have a full compliance with his demand for several lacs of rupees (6) At this the Council in Calcutta directed Mr Barker to "acquaint the (Nawāb's) Government that under such imposition they could not carry on the Company's Business and were determined not to give their Dadney, and ** that no Dustucks should be given for the Exportation or Importation of any Goods or Treasure, and that all the Merchants and Company's servants be ordered to recede" (7) - "At this time" (8) - "At last matters were accommodated, of Alivardi and a principal officer es On the 6th July, 1736, the Company received the *perwanas* for the currency of their trade" (8) But shortly they had some trouble with Hājī Ahmad at Patna as regards the provision of saltpetre (9) Within a few months they came to be, however, on "very good terms with the Country Government" (10), and impediments to their trade at Dacca and other places were removed (11)

Shuja ud din died in March 1739, and soon after the accession of his son Sarafraz to the *masnad* of Murshidabad the latter's insincere officers, Hājī Ahmad and others, made the simple-minded of Nadir Shah, lived at Delhi as King' (12) On the 11th May, 1739, Hājī Ahmad passed orders for stopping the trade of the English Company and demanded from them a certain sum in order to procure a *firman* for them from the 'New King' (Nadir Shah) (13) Thereupon

¹Letter to Court 20th February 1736 para 6

²*Ibid* para 7

³*Ibid*

⁴*Ibid*

⁵*Ibid*

⁶*Ibid*, para 8 Letter to Court 24th July, 1736 para 3

⁷*Ibid*

⁸*Ibid*, para. 4

⁹Letter to Court 20th February, 1737, para 12

¹⁰Letter to Court 20th July, 1737, para 10

¹¹Letter to Court 20th January, 1738 para 70

¹²Irvine *Later Mughals* Vol II, p 373, K K Datta, *Alivardi and His Times* p 18

¹³Letter to Court 24th December 1739 para 123 (Most probably the news of Nadir's return march from Delhi since the 5th May, 1739 had not yet reached Bengal)

Shujā ud dīn put forth additional demands on the English on the grounds that they had extended their private trade and made a fraudulent use of *dastaks*. He

Council in Calcutta had a considerable private trade, as is clear from the following (2).—(a) "The President engaged largely in the purchase of those Goods most of which he distributed abroad on his Private Trade, he has not been able to get ready Money in return. He assigned to them Sundry Debts and Effects and they took back part of the Goods" (para 35), (b) "In regard to Ramnaut Bose (Rāmnāth Bose), the President's Banyan the Consultations will show their opinion of the share he seems to have in the Goods put down to his name*****" (para 37)

There is no doubt that this private trade produced certain evils, prejudicial to the interests not only of the indigenous merchants or the government of the province but also of the Company. There are some incidental references in the *Letters* to show that the Court of Directors discountenanced it. But the Council in Calcutta assured them that "all the caution possible is taken to prevent any private Traders interfering with the Company's Trade" (3). Being opposed to the abolition of private trade and to the withdrawal of the subordinate English factories, it wrote to the Court of Directors on the 31st December, 1737—"If with the Dutch the Company allowed no Private Trade their servants must starve (4) while the Dutch Live Great and die Rich, if Private Trade was Forbid still the (Nawāb's) Government would want Money sometimes, they annually have something coming from other European Nations and yet do often squeeze them too, they will not see them Lade even the Company's ships only without some Acknowledgment, are not to be trusted by agreeing for an Annual Sum but might Increase it. Confining the Dusticks to the Company's Investment would be giving up (never to be recalled though de-

si
at
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P

year (para 64)

If every Subordinate Settlement was withdrawn the Government would be as Troublesome, it is in their power to stop the Government and keep the Company's Goods by their Dusticks or make the Company Liable to the Duties on Imports and Exports. If Goods were

necessary for the Company's Interest to continue Subordinates By Subordinates a large Profit arises from having the Goods at the first value from the Aurungs" (para 130)

¹Letter to Court, 28th December, 1735 para 66

²Letter to Court, 29th January, 1738

³Letter to Court, 16th January, 1733, para 98, *ibid*, 26th December, 1733 paras 35 and 43; *ibid*, 28th December, 1735 para 101

⁴The reference is to the low salaries of the Company's servants. But truly speaking their lot was not hard because of the high purchasing power of the rupee at that time. J C Sinha, *Economic Annals of Bengal*, p. 7, footnote

subsequent decades

Similarly, desire for private gain was at the root of the troubles regarding the

exchequer and of embarrassment to most of the indigenous merchants of the province, who were required to pay customs according to the current rates. The Company also considered the abuse of *dastaks* to be detrimental to the interests of its trade, and, most likely under pressure from the Court of Directors, the Council in Calcutta took some steps to check it ⁽³⁾. The Council assured the former, on the 24th January, 1735, that they "have had no complaints lately of the Abuses of the Dusticks" ⁽⁴⁾, on the 31st December, 1737, that "the most effectual care is taken to prevent Illicit Trade and shall Watch narrowly" ⁽⁵⁾, and on the 24th December, 1739, that "Dusticks are not abused" ⁽⁶⁾. But our study of the subsequent years of Bengal history tells us that the abuse continued to grow so much so as to evoke loud complaints from Alivardi Khān, and to form an important cause of the disputes between the English and the Nawabs, Sirajuddaulah ⁽⁷⁾ and Mir Kāsim ⁽⁸⁾.

From an extract, already noted ⁽⁹⁾, we find the members of the Council in Calcutta considered them exempted to the *dastaks* for their personal trade. Their interpretation of exemption from the *dastaks* as a collective and corporate body ⁽¹⁰⁾, and *dastaks* were to be attached to vessels to indicate that they belonged to the Company. It was never intended by that document to extend the same privilege to the private trade of the Company's servants ⁽¹¹⁾. It may be said that, in this respect, the majority of the members of the Council in Calcutta during the *subadāship* of Mir Kāsim inherited a pernicious tradition from some of their predecessors.

¹For rates of salaries vide Wilson, *Early Annals* Vol I, p 235 and Vol II, Part I, pp 82-83

²Wilson *Early Annals* Vol I p 246 and p 266

³Letter to Court 16th January, 1733 para 126, *ibid*, 28th December, 1735, para. 114

⁴Para 116 of the *Letter* of that date

⁵Para 64 of the *Letter* of that date

⁶Para 31 of the *Letter* of that date

⁷Wilson *Old Fort William in Bengal* Vol II, p 60

⁸Vide K. K. Datta *Studies in the History of the Bengal Subah*, Vol I, 1740-70, pp. 301-43.

⁹Vide ante, p 17

¹⁰"...that all goods and necessaries which their Factors of the Subahship, parts and round About, bring or carry away Either by land or water, Know they are custom free ***". Farrukhsyar's *Farman* quoted in Wilson's *Early Annals* Vol II, Part II, pp 162-69

¹¹Meares Vansittart and Hastings expressed the same opinion in their letter to the Council, dated the 15th December, 1762. The Court of Directors gave exactly this interpretation of the *firmā* in their letter to the Council in Calcutta, dated the 26th April, 1763

AN UNKNOWN PHASE OF MUGHAL-KOCH RELATIONS.

(BASED ON A NEWLY DISCOVERED PERSIAN MANUSCRIPT)

(By Mr. S. H. Askari, M. A., B. L.)

Some time back I was lucky enough to discover an old, incomplete, and damaged Persian manuscript¹ containing more than 70 letters which are interesting and of historical value as they throw entirely new light on the activities of the Mughal officials in Koch Bihar in the last few years of Aurangzeb's reign. The letters are undated and not arranged in proper chronological order and, except in a few cases, they bear no names either of the writers or the addressees. But a close and careful study of their contents leaves little doubt that most of them emanated from one, Ali Quli Khan², who served more than once as the Foulidar of Koch Bihar and was specially very active during a period of 4 or 5 years of Prince Azim us Shan's viceroyalty of the eastern provinces, including Koch Bihar.

Fortunately a portion of the preface is available which says that one, Anchit Rai, collected the "scattered compositions and letters" of his father, Lekhray³, which had been addressed to Ali Quli Khan to the "saddars" and as "were not devoid of literary and poetical merits" and were, moreover, approved of by his father's patron and friend, "M. Akhund Muhammad al Ashraff al Mazindran"⁴ they were compiled in a book at Rangpur in 1112/1700 and named *Matin Insha*. The versified chronogram which yields this date is somewhat misleading, for, another is one of the congratulatory letters on the accession of Emperor Shah Alam, (L 12) bears the date 1219/1707, while a third (L 1) offers felicitations of the "humblest of the devoted born slaves, Ali Quli Khan," on the birth of a son to the addressee "the bright luminary of the sphere of caliphate and sovereignty" in 1115/1703. Subsequent additions are not uncommon in old Persian mss., specially in collections of letters, and the unmethodical arrangement followed in the present

¹On folio 10a occurs "the owner of the original of the book (was) Mirza Alif Beg". Brindaban Das Khugso and an unnamed letter writer and poet, both contemporaries of Nawab Haibat Jung of Patna (killed 1748), describe one, Mirza Alif Beg, as a poet and a servant of Azumabad (S K).

Two more mss. containing many more letters have since been discovered. One belongs to Rai Brij Raj Kishen and the other (written in 1224 A. H.) belongs to the Walf Library of Diwan Nasir Ali of Kuchwa (Saran).

²We hear from the historian Kamwar Khan that one bearing this title was the son of Mahabat Khan Deccani and that he was appointed subadar of Oulh and Faujdar of

of Chakla Doab (Dist. of Jalandhar and Hoshiarpur).

³We learn of a collection of letters, named *Musfid al Insha*, by one Lekhray compiled in 1699 (M R A Azamgarh text).

⁴Namdar and Kamgar Khan were the sons of Um dat ul mulk Jafar Khan. Kamgar Khan was replaced in the subadary of Orissa in 47 year 1114/1702 by Murshid Quli Khan (T b C; M A) Kuchwa Mss.

⁵This well known Persian poet and scholar was a tutor of Princess Zebunnisa. On his second visit to India he became attached to Prince Azim us Shan then in Bengal and Bihar, and he died in Mongher in 1116/1704 (S K, T N I).

compilation does certainly admit of such later insertions. On the whole, however, the letters which are specially important from historical standpoint may be safely referred to the period when Prince Azim us Shan was present in Bengal and Bihar.

Letters Nos 2, 14, 15, 23, 27, 32 and 63 clearly show that the writer, the foudjar of Koch Bihar, despite his anxiety to respond at once to the command, received through the 'Nishan', was prevented by the "insistent demand for the arrear pay" of

the work" of
the 'Prince'
Subah of Bihar,
his own son,
there added the

charges of Akbarnagar (Rajmahal) and Ghoraghat by way of appanages. This naturally created bad blood between the father and the son, as is evident from the correspondences between the two, and another son, Muhammad (6) Ali, (Ls 28, 38, 58, 59, 67 and 70) and it also threw the affairs of the 'Chakla' in confusion and caused a good deal of hardships to the dispossessed foudjar (L 2, 45). The latter was, however, reinstated through the help of an unnamed patron (63). Having received a *khulat*, he intended to proceed by boat to Akbarnagar towards Koch Bihar, on the 29th of Moharram, (probably June 3, 1703) but actually he entered the thana of Rangpur on the 11th of Rabi II and assumed charge of his 'Mahals' on the 15th of that month (32, 23, 11). Thus he appears to have remained under suspension for less than a year. We do not know as to when the writer of the majority of the letters was first appointed to the Foudjari of Koch Bihar, though one letter (927) speaks of his having put in a service of 18 or 19 years at the time of his dismissal, while several of the letters refer to his energetic administration for a period of 4 or 5 years. We may refer the letter No 20 addressed most probably to Murshid Quli Khan to some time about the year 1704 when the latter, after his quarrel with the prince viceroy was put in charge of the vacant Subadari of Orissa, and had made Mukhsudabad as his residence (M. A., Sir J. N. Sarkar H. A. V, 378). A letter (17) mentioning the chagrin of the 'hypocrite and the mischievous' at the writer obtaining the imperial orders through 'Bakshi ul mulk Ruhullah Khan' (?) about the "restoration of the monthly allowance" can be placed between 1699 and 1703 and probably it was at some time during this period that the foudjar was granted a kettledrum (L 28).

But he had very soon to meet with difficulties and handicaps which arose not only from the peculiar nature of the country and its climate, refractory character of its inhabitants, and the active help they received from the Afghan malcontents but also from the rather lukewarm support the foudjar received from the imperial court and the positive hostility he had to face from the interested persons, both Hindus and Musulmans, who had gained the ears of the 'Dewan' and also pulled the wire from behind in the imperial court. There are numerous references to financial matters—questions of jagirs and allowances—and, among others, mention is found of historical personages like Murshid Quli Khan, Bakshi ul-mulk Sadruddin Muhammad Khan (6) etc.

*The author of the Assamese history, Rajopakhyan, tells us of a 'Foudjar of the Subah of Dacca' who bore this name and made a fruitless advance into Kuch Bihar during the reign of Rup Narain.

*The son of the famous Ruhullah Khan I. His sister was married by Prince Azim-us Shan. He was appointed Bukshi in 44th year=1111/1699 and died young in 48th year=1115/1703 (M. A., Kujhwa Ms.)

*He was appointed second Bukshi in 1115/1703 and promoted to higher ranks and titles Shah Alam (KK II, 236)

Lack of space prevents consideration of these matters, and, therefore, the present paper will remain confined only to those letters which tell us of an important but unknown phase of Mughal Koch relation. We learn from these that the Mughal hold on Koch Bihar was not very strong, being frequently liable to be challenged; that there were certain tracts of the country, specially those around the 'fort of

Mughals, that though handicapped in more than one way, the fowjdar and his naib Afraseyab did much to punish repeatedly and ultimately defeat and kill the rebel leaders, notably the nephew of Jagat Narain⁽¹¹⁾, the father of the Koch King, Rup Narain, and the Afghans, all of whom attempted to capture their

a task not fulfilled by powerful and resourceful nobles like 'Mir Jumla and his successors was accomplished in 2 or 3 years by Ali Quli Khan, and that the latter also carried out the emperor's injunctions regarding the enforcement of restraints and prohibition of intoxicants and in respect of the despatch to the *Huzur* of the 'auspicious footprints' (12) of the holy prophet which after passing many hands had come into the possession of one, with the Koch and made to some of the letters given below materials for the renewed Mughal activities in Koch Bihar during the last days of Aurangzeb

Letter No. 26 " In the beginning of the current year, in accordance

help of the eternal fortunes, the affair had been almost accomplished when, in the

⁹Gurga Hat, on the eastern bank of the Torsa river was named Bihar and became the official residence of the Kings of Koch Bihar (Raj. Ch. XI-64)

¹⁰Raja of Dinajpur with whom the Koch Raja exchanged turbans in token of friendship (Raj. Ch. XII-67)

¹¹Jagat Narain was one of 4 sons of Chatra Nazir, Mahi Narain and C. in C. of Kin Basud van. His son Rup Narain, reigned from 165 Raj Shaka=1101 B. E.=1616 Shaka=1694 A. D. to 205=1121=1636=1714

¹²An inscription on a Kadam Rasul building at Cuttack says that it was erected by Shuja uddin Khan in 1114/1702. But it is difficult to establish any connection between the two for we hear of many other so-called footprints. Probably, it was the superstitious Prince, Azim us Shan, and not the Pautan Emperor himself who attached any value to the king

and subordinates in the Mahals of the Foujdari proceeded in haste to pay his obeisance to the celestial door, and at a distance of 20 kos from Rangpur was fortunate

from office (without) getting the allowance of Dams of Inam and half of the unconditional jagir the writer was pressed with the demand of the arrear pay by the soldiery. Whatever he had was consumed by the arrears of this insistent group

the dastak (permit) being granted

Letter No 2 — Lays down before the sky high sublime court that the Arzdāshs despatched more than once relating to the writer's dismissal from the Sarkar of Koch Bihar and his accompanying the Prince of exalted status to the subah of Bihar, must have reached the most sacred and the most honoured. At this time the Prince reinstated the humblest of the born slaves in his former post and two months have elapsed since he arrived at this place and resumed the duties of his office. For some days on account of dismissal and reinstatement confusion actually raged in the administration of this chakla. If God wills it is hoped that with the help of the eternal fortune after the expiry

without establishing police posts specially in round the fort of Bihar which is the abode and place of refuge of the wicked infidels of this land. As the environs of the fort remain under water for a period of almost 6 or 7 months the complete execution of this task requires sufficient provisions equipments and war materials whereas this devoted born slave is not in a position to fulfil these necessities considering that he has necessarily to maintain a scheduled number of men all the year round to warn and punish the crowd of oppressive people. If a reward of 80 lakhs Dam is granted by way of allowance as in the case of the preceding foujdars the conquest

Letter No 5 — Submits that Afraseyah the Deputy of this devoted slave was

he fell upon the mischievous crowd. Being proud of their numerical superiority, as a battle ended and a wounds or

in Pach Kal Todī, a place 7 kos this side of the fortress of Bihar, the writer sent a body of his own people for the complete suppression of these refractory people. A big battle continued to rage for night and day. The brother's son of the hellish Jagat Narain and Dharni, a notable Sardar panions, were put to the sword and those hot for them, dispersed, thus giving victory of the lieutenants of this devoted slave also lost their lives and some were wounded

forward the affairs of the Imperial Sarkar. If God wills, with the help of the good fortune, all these wicked infidels will be complete by overthrown.....".

Letter No 19 — (Besides repeating most of the details mentioned in the above letters, the present one contains the following additional informations) "...the veterans of our army set fire to the fortress and then proceeded in pursuit of those ill-fated ones. Whoever dared to oppose was dispatched by the sword..... Victory fell to the royal army. The warriors of Islam having cut off the heads of the infernal ones, brought them together with two pairs of drums and.... which they had captured from the enemy and Afraseyab, in order to warn other seditionists had these heads built up in a tower. At present a body of these wicked people is

day. But what can be done? In the first place, the hugeness of their number is not hidden from anyone. Moreover, some of the zamindars like Prannath etc. constantly help the enemies by supplying or selling them grain and provisions. Not a day passes when one can feel secure from the disturbances and rebellions of these evil natured people. For example, recently a faithless Afghan, named Bahlol Khan, having gathered a large force of foot and horse soldiers, raised his head of rebellion in the districts of Bodī and Pashkal which are situated within this Sarkar of this land. Owing to his If God wills, he will reap own

Letter No 7 — "Submits that the account of the victory achieved in the month of Ziqd has been despatched to the Court. Now the position is this: when the Naib (deputy) of this devoted slave was busy in his task of suppressing the remnants of the last year's enemies and was bent on subjugating Bihar, Bahlol Khan Afghan, brother of the hellish Sulaiman who was killed last year, came at the head of a large force along the road passing through Furneah in order to reinforce the wicked people

those district. As a deep river lay between and boats were scarce, just as my Naib

was small and the Afghans were comparatively superior in number, the wretched Bahlol was defeated and sent to the hell, together with a large number of his men, and the rest, having no courage to continue their stand, took to their heels. The heads of the hellish people have been sent to the *Huzur*. In this battle a considerable number under the deputy of this slave also laid down their lives and many were wounded, but victory fell to the lot of the royal army. This devoted slave sends his humble congratulation and prays etc. . . . "

Letter No 24 — "I had written to your honoured self regarding the despatch of Bahlol Afghan and most of his villainous companions to hell and about the flight of the remnants of his force and sundry other matters. It has been definitely ascertained that Prannath, the zamindar of the Sarkar of Panjara and his servant, Khandi, and others, had allowed a passage to that hellish one so that he may be able to arrive in this district with a large body of his men and take possession of the fort of Buda. After he was killed, Dalya, a leader of the seditious group and 7 other
ome wanderers in the
wealth, both in cash
and Prannath. When

their virtual prisoners and took possession of their ill-gotten wealth and goods. The deputy of your friend, however, refrained from interference because that Mahal is attached to the Khalsa, but he has written to the said zamindar to deliver them into

perfidious people may be disposed of here and their heads may be sent to the Court so that this land may be freed from the stain of the existence of such execrated fomentors of disturbances. It will also serve as a warning to other refractory people. As the said Prannath is always in the habit of giving refuge to such wretched people

even a single person of that group any shelter in his zamindari "

Letter No 65 — "Submits that the Parwanah which was issued relating to the defiance of the wicked Prannath and the attempts of your subordinates to chastise

and even prevented At any rate, whatever your difficulty solving mind has conceived may turn out for the better and must have been already considered as the best thing to be done The Bukshi of the sarkar has been ill for the last 4 months and this devoted slave is shortly leaving for the subjugation of Bihar As the thana of Buda falls within the zamindari mahals of this refractory one, information may be sent at the time when a march towards that side is begun so that the writer may proceed there to perform his obeisance and also to exert his utmost in doing all that is deemed necessary If God wills, with your good fortune, the villainous one would receive chastisement for his misdeeds and will be overthrown ... "

Letter No 20 — "It is learnt that you, refuge of the sincere ones, being granted leave by the Huzur (Emperor) have proceeded to regulate and administer the affairs

abode and habitation of the wicked infidels It also contained a request for rein-

it referred to the despatch of the auspicious footprints of the holy Prophet In the

and jagirs of this well wisher of the people, so that he may not have to take the obligation of any other person"

Letter No 10 — "Submits that the circumstances of the insolence of the power-

regards this devoted born slave, whatever has been done during the period of 2 or 3 years in regulating the affairs of this sarkar and warning and chastising the villainous, mischievous people, has been submitted in the past and is being conveyed by the news writers of the Court This year, in compliance with the dignified command, relating to the subjugation of Bihar, the deputy of this slave, after much hardships and effort, arrived near Bihar There was very little left for effecting complete conquest but the rains set in and there was a lack of adequate force, provisions, foodstuff and equipments of war and as it appeared inadvisable to establish police posts there at this time, so he was compelled to return As the abode and habitation of real zamindars of this sarkar is Bihar and till thanas are established effective subjugation of the place is not possible, and as this devoted slave is in distressed condition because he has to keep a force much beyond his capacity and authority —

and the demand for arrear pay of the soldiery is ever on the increase, it is prayed that a body of 500 cavalry and the same number of foot soldiers be sanctioned from the court or 80 lakhs dam be granted by way of Inam, as in the case of the preceding foudars. As the Sarkar of Koch Bihar is practically ruined and devastated because the refractory people have been passing and repassing through it, and have made

would be brought under complete control of the royal army. As regards the affair of putting a complete stop to the currency and the coinage of the local zamindars, submissions have already been made by this devoted slave. He hopes that by the grace of God, within a short time, the holy Alamgiri coinage would be made current all over the land and no trace would be left of the coins of the infernal ones."

Letter No 29—"Your noble letter, written in accordance with the sublime

command the mint has already been started and no stone is being left unturned in

Beg is going to be sent at the head of a suitable force and the writer himself, as a precautionary measure against certain eventualities, will keep himself ready to back up and reinforce the main army so that the whole land of Koch Bihar may come into the possession of His Imperial Majesty and thanas and police posts may be established throughout the country. The bond contains an engagement to finish the business in two seasons because in restoring order and regulating the affairs of the land, on account of 7 months of intermittant heavy rainfall and the time entered. If the whole land had not been subject to this, the business would have been finished in the bond of two seasons. And the by the ruler's regulation, otherwise no slave himself in the least in executing the affairs of his devotedness and allegiance in which perty. As in preceding times, whenever ex-

peditions were led against the seditious people of this land, written orders used to be issued for the supply of food and zamindars of chakla. Therefore, in accordance may be ordered so that the men of the army should not get into trouble on account of lack of food, and the storing of grains might take place for it is the best means for the success of the thanadars."

Letter No 31—[This pretty long letter repeats much of what is given in the ones regarding the substitution of Alamgiri Coins, the efforts put in, and

the difficulties met with, in subjugating Bihar and establishing police posts, and the prayers for reinforcement and grant for assignments on mahals of Bengal. The

repelling him but till the affairs could be finally disposed of heavy downpours began

Letter No. 4.—"Submits that two years before this, in accordance with the sublime command, orders had been issued to this devoted one, under the seal of Lashkar Khan, deceased, relating to the despatch of the auspicious footprints of the holy Prophet. These had at first been with one Ali Mewati, after whose death it passed into the possession of Sulaiman Afghan. When this wretch also went to the hell, the auspicious footprints fell into the hands of Aqil Baloch. However much a search was made for that at that time, they could not be found. At this time, however, when the lowliest of the born slaves established strong police posts in

to creating division and separating the above mentioned Aqil from his companions, a compact was entered into with him. He was sent for and the auspicious footmarks, being taken away from him, were sent to the Huzur..".

Letter No 25—"An account of Aqil Baloch who had joined hands with the

and prayed for words of honour" .. (The rest about the result and the history of the footprints as in the letter translated above)

Letter No 64—"Your letter, written agreeably to the dignified command

his alliance with the infidels, had come and stayed here for a long time and after taking an amount of money from me spent it but could effect nothing, it is of no consequence Truth will not remain hidden under falsehood Let him mark out the person and prove that he has taken the money and goods so that they may be realised His brothers who had been carefully looked after for a period of 5 or 6 months u f s Huzur".

Letter No 18 — "The letter you wrote, agreeably to order, regarding the prohibition of intoxicants, derived from the juice of the palm and date trees and the despatch of bond concerning its non usage, is to hand Last year also the royal command concerning this affair had been communicated by you and a reply had been sent by me, your friend, that except in Parganah Kondi which falls within the Tiylul of the sarkar, these and other kinds of intoxicants are nowhere in use Your friend one that J' C f juice and these are not found in the Mahals attached to your friend, he is ready to submit ten, instead of one bond, couched in terms as may be suggested "

ABBREVIATIONS

T S Ch = Tazkua i Salatin i Chaghtaia by Kamwar Khan (Ku, hwa Ms)

M A = Maasir i Alamgiri by Mustaid Md Saqi (Kujhwa Ms)

M U = Maasir ul Umra—Printed

M R A = Mugaddume i Ruqqalt i Alamgir by Najib Ashraf (Urdu Printed)

S K = Safina i Khusgo by Lala Brindaban Das Khusgo (O P L)

T N I = Taz kura i Nashtar i Ishq by Lala Brindaban Das, Khusgo (O P L)

K K = Muntakhab ul Wahab by Khafi Khan (Printed)

R or Raj = Rajopakhyan by S; Jadunath Ghosh

A SANAD

of Captain James Browne, Military Collector of Zilla Jungle Tarai

1776 A D.

(By Mr Makhanlal Roy Choudhury M.A , B L , P R S , Shastri)

نقل سند کپڑائی حلفی سرکار

از طرف کپڑائی

متصدیان مہات حال و استقنال چودھری و نانوں گرواں و زمینداران و گیتواں پیرگمہ دارا سکھوارا ملح
حکملہ برائی متعلقہ کپڑا سرکار موگیہ مصد صوبہ بہار بنادند !

چون ابتدا ۱۷۱۲ | | صلی مملکت ککوارا پیرگمہ مذکور صبح منلغ دو صد چہل و پیم روپیہ دوارا آمد پاترد
گفتہ (تقریر ثالث) احوال و جہات و سرور و جہات و کل حایب نالعملا و ہما و جہات سوائے رسوم زمینداران
و مالکانہ و چودھریانہ و نانوں گروانہ و اخراجات رمن خدراہ' تر سونر شونر' و شمو یز و ائبہ امٹک
حاکمیداران و برق اندازان و دھراں و میوان و قیرہ ملاکت ملا سس مقام راگھو سنگھ و بیرو سنگھ گھموان
تعلقہ مذکور و صلا معری استمراری احوال حسب النفس معرو و مشخص مودہ شد

باند ملا حاکم جمع تردد و امان مودہ اجمال و احب سرکار مواسی مغلست سال سال مملکت داخل قریلا
خانہ سرکار مودہ ناسد چمانچہ مکار اتروا انانی مملکت مذکورہ روز بروز گردد و ہم تردد و ہم انانی رسا خود
سماند - و زمین از جس سلوک خود راضی و ساگر دارد نا امدے از مدعیان دعوی بنیاد و روز مملتی ملا رساند
حما حاکمیداران و بری اندازان و عیرہ سوائے مالگروا معزہ ملا ممان نگہدار و نگہدانی رعیان حدود خود
و دیہات مملکت مذکور معد گرداند -

و تسمکتا طلب چاکراں از حضور شرد براندمح حبصعت بعصور حاضر گدد اگر احیاناً در سرحد متعلقہ حوس و
مساد ذاکہ و درمی و رھری و عیرہ ملا شمرور رسد و خیال ملا ملا ورا آمد نا نا کے از مصلحت دھند نا خود پیردارد
و معاملہ سرکار بھال روے دھند از روے حصص سرا رابع رسد از امدے حواب دھمی خواھد سد و از مساد حدود
بیروں خواھد سد - و بار در ممان دحل ملا خواھد ثالث احکام مملکت زمینداران مملکت مذکور جمع معری
استمراری دریں باب ناکند داستا حسب السمتور عمل آرند -

Translation of Captain Brown's Sanad

' *Amlanāma to Rungu Singh and Bhairo Singh* '

(Seal of Captain James Sirdar of Jungletari, on behalf of Company, of Kundour, Khurruckpur, Bhagālpur, Kahalgaon, Birbhoom and Khargdiha)

JAMES BROWN,
E I C

Know ye the Motasaddians, Mahimat present and future, the Chaudharys, Qanūngos, Zamindars and Ghātwāls of Pargana Danda Sakhwara, Zilla Jungletari appertaining to Khāragpur in Sarkar Monghyr within the Province of Behar

Whereas from the commencement of the year 1184 Fash, Taluqa Kakwara in the said Pargana has been granted as a Mokarrari Istimrari at a sum of Rs 245/12/15 Gandas of the Sonat current coin E₁ (comprised of) Mal Wajhat and Sair Wajhat with all Habūbs in one consolidated sum as agreed upon, except the Zamindari rasum and Malkanā and fees of Chaudharys and Qanūngos and the expenses of the Pargana, and Aima Imlak of the Jāgirdars Barqandazes Dhuharan and Mahwan, etc, without any trouble and objection, in the name of Rungu Singh and Bhairo Singh Ghātwāls of the aforesaid Taluqa, *E₁ Mal hastul zaman moqarar o moshalkhas namuda* (with revenue fixed and assessed according to schedule) It is requisite that they should peacefully cultivate and populate and pay into the treasury of the

themselves responsible for the deficiency of cultivation They should by their good treatment keep the tenant satisfied and pleased so that no body shows wickedness and disobedience They anything more than the the tenants within their When the said Jagirdars the Huzoor with their body of men If within their limits murderers, affrays dacoity, theft highway robbery and other crimes be discovered in any place or should any one give bad advice or keep in collusion with himself or cause any injury to the interest of the Government they shall be responsible and shall, upon enquiry and decision be vested with proper punishment and will be dismissed from the Bunuyād (elaqa) and shall not get back their place

The authorities, ministerial officers and Zamindars of the aforesaid Taluqa, shall uphold the Moqarrari and Istimrari Jama (Sum) of the said Pargana and receive the Jama year by year and shall not demand a fraction more They shall be careful of this and as above indicated

Dated the 25th Shawal in the year 17, corresponding with the 7th Paus 1193.

TRANSLATION OF RĀJĀ QĀDIR'ĀLĪ S SANAD

(Copies given to court and the opposite parties on 22nd June 1940)

Circle of the seal of Shah'Alam Badshah Ghāzi Fīdwī Rāja Qadr'Alī

Copy is according to original

(1193)

Know ye Motasaddiān, Mohīmat present and future and Gumashtas, officers—Choudharys and Qanoongos—Pargana Danda Sakhwarā appertaining to Mahalat Kharrugpur Surcār Monghyr of the Province of Behar

Whereas service Ghātwalī of Taluqa Kakwarā mamulē (usual) within Pargana aforesaid on condition of fidelity and well wishing of Sarkar (the Government) according to the Sanad granted to Bhairō Singh and Rungu Singh along with one hundred seventy two (nafar) persons Barqandazes and Trandazan with Sirdarān is existing (moharast) Hence from the commencement of the eighth month, the kharif crop of the year 1189 Fasli Rajwarā corresponding with 1188 Fasli Mughulānā, being continued and confirmed to old custom, it has been fixed and given per Schedule

It is requisite that according to duty and custom acting with honesty and exactitude and by good treatment the tenants should be kept contented and satisfied, and Ghats and Chowk[—] vigilance so that thieves may not remain near

Heaven forbid if there be any and if anybody's property is stolen or plundered and cattle stolen they (Ghātwalīs) will be punishable They should arrest the thieves and night murderers with property intact and make over the properties to the owner and produce the offenders before the Hazoōr and prove the murder If they fail to seize the thieves and prove the guilt of the murderers and the cattle stealer they must consider the responsibility to themselves And they should pay the *Wājāh shar'* due to Government (Sarkar) as usual (Mowāfiq maamul)

When they will be summoned they shall, all gathering in a body, appear before the Huzoor

It is requisite that you do consider the abovenamed persons the permanent Ghātwalīs of this place and accept advice so that it may be tenant You shall not give what has been written above

Dated the 17th Moharram ul Harām of the year 22 corresponding with year 1194 Hjr

Schedule

Ghatwal service of Taluqa Kakwarā, Pargana Danda Sakhwarā on the condition of fidelity and loyalty to the Government in the name of Rungu Singh and Bhairō Singh with 172 Burkundazes and archers with Sardars, as existing from before, has been fixed and given from the beginning of the kharif crop of the year 1180 Fasli Rajwarā, corresponding with 1188 Mughulana

Copied in the Office of the Presence 1194 H S

Received in the Copying Office on the 10th Moharram 1194 Hjr

Copied in the Office of the Presence on the 12th Moharram 1194 Hjr

Pursuant to an order of 28th December 1874, it was made over on the 27th February 1875 to Kali Prosad, generals mohatar of Thakur Munranjan Singh without keeping a copy.

Himmat Sahay,

Naib Mohafiz of the Collectorate of Bhāgalpur.

Filed on the 18th March 1875 by Mr Joseph Dacosta, pleader for the defendant
n suit No 7 of 1875

The wild tract of jungle Tarāi as the name suggests is a vast expanse of land below and along a mountain pass called the Rājmahal hill tracts. This area under

were fierce and were never completely subdued by the Mughal Emperors. The

Passes and the holders of the tenures were called Ghāt-wāls or the keeper of the Pass

Pahārī in Tappa Manihārī in Godda subdivision of Santhāl parganas; Mān singh granted to his son, Rupharan, some jungle districts like Mudghoom and Jumne

(Kharakpur) Rāj now in the district of Monghyr

The situation of the Jungle Tarai Tract stood thus during this period (1761 62 to 1780 81) —

- (1) The highest lord was the Mughal Emperor, Shāh'Alam in whose name official transactions were made
- (2) Immediate over lord was the Nawāb of Bengal under whose jurisdiction the property was situated
- (3) The East India Company was the Dewān of the territory with its supervisor, Mr Harwood at Rāj Mahal^(*) was succeeded by Mr. Barton and Mr Cleveland having their headquarters at Bhāgalpur

Indeed there was a vacancy in the traditional proprietorship of the land from the date of the deposition of Rājā Muzaffar Ali till the Rāj of Khārakpur was restored to his grandson Raja Qadir 'Ali by Mr Cleveland, then civil collector of B by a Sanad in April, 1817. The Rājā of Khārakpur had various rights such as the in the Tarāi on the representation of the Rāj at Calcutta under the name of Rājā of Khārakpur.

¹ Rennell's map in the final report on the survey and settlement of Santhal Parganas by Macpherson

² Ghat—Pass, Ghatwal—A holder of ghat or pass

³ Stubb's constitutional History of England I, p 188 70

⁴ Bengal past and present, Vol xliii No 85 6 p 113 114

since 1772 A D), but he could not cope with the lawless situation of the district. The military collector had to be appointed. General where as the civil collector was the first military Collector appointed on the 17th of February, 1773. It may be concluded that he left his post some time before November 3, 1774 because in the Council proceedings at Calcutta there is reference to the departure of Captain Brooke for Fyzābīd to join Rohilla war (7)

Captain James Browne took up his task with all earnestness of a soldier and refused the territory to submission. He followed a cautious policy and made settlements generally with the local chieftains as far as possible. The spirit of Double Government as initiated by Clive was not forgotten. He invoked the names of the Emperor Shāh'Alam in many of the documents relating to the Settlements. One title of the Sanads of the said Captain is reproduced below (8)

"Captain James Browne, Nāsir ud Dowla, Nāsir ul Mulk Salābat Jung, Fidw Padshah Shāh'Alam Ghāzi "

The allegiance to the Mughal Emperors was sworn even as late as 1794 by the E I Company as in the case of the Handwe Ghatwali Parwana (9) some times the regnal year of the reigning Mughal Emperor was mentioned (10)

The Record No I under our investigation is an 'Amalnāma which was granted by Captain James Browne the Sardar of Jungle Tarai to the Ghātvals of Bhairu Singh and Rangu Singh of Kakwarā in 1184 Fash year for which a Kabuliyaat was taken

The Record No II is a sanad which was granted by Raja Qādir'Alī the grandson of Raja Muzaffar'Alī who was restored to the Raj in 1780 A D by Cleveland (11) the Civil Collector of Bhagalpur though the Parwana of restoration was issued a year after Warren Hastings

The points of investigation are the following —

- (a) What was the status of Captain Browne when he granted the 'Amalnāma to Ghatwals of Kakwarā ?
- (b) What was the scope of rights created by 'Amalnāma of Captain Brown and by the Sanad of Raja Qadir'Alī ?
- (c) What was the status of Raja Qadir'Alī when he confirmed the Ghatwali tenure by his Sanad expressly referring to an earlier Sanad ?

* Selections from the Letters Despatches and other State Paper preserved in the foreign Department of Government of India, 1772-85 Edited by George Forrest dated 17th February, 1773

* Vide Chakal sanad Patna High Court judgment Original order No 285 dated 1930 decided on June 23 1934

* Parwana by Mr Dickinson collector of Bhagalpur 27th January 1794 Purandar Singh Ghatwal of Handwe

* E I Co's sanad to Handwe Ghatwal dated 11th September 1776 and E I Company's Sanad to Kakwarā Ghatwals dated 17th September 1777 both granted by James Browne

Captain James Browne was a military officer with a revenue jurisdiction for settlement of lands. His primary duty was to subdue the refractory and restore order. Settlement of lands was made with the old tenure holders as far as possible. Even a settlement was made with the Ghātāl of Lachmipur who had repeatedly defied the civil and military authorities and led rebellions against them ⁽¹²⁾. This settlement with an erstwhile rebel and a former Ghātāl indicates that the old ghatwals were retained in their possessions with their rights and privileges intact and the Sanads or 'Amalnāmas granted by him to the respective ghatwals were mere confirmations of existing ghatwals tenures held under the Government.

Captain James Browne's documents have been found to be issued sometimes mention of the Mughal Emperors and sometimes without it. Legally the E. I. Company was the Dewan of the Mughal Government at Delhi and they could not create any more rights than they had under the grant of Shāh 'Alam in 1765 A.D. But in fact lack of governance placed the E. I. Company in the position of the *de facto* rulers, the ultimate assumption of the central authority by E. I. Company was a sanction to what was done by them as Dewān within their rights and beyond. Actuated by the spirit of Clive's policy of non disturbance of the machinery of the existing administration, Captain James Browne invoked the name of the Delhi authorities in his documents ⁽¹³⁾. The same principle was followed in other documents of the period. Dickinson issued Sanad to the Ghātāl Hāndwe under the seal of the Mughal Emperor even as late as 1794. A comparison may be made between the Zamindārī Sanad of the E. I. Company with that of the great Mughals ⁽¹⁴⁾.

The Record No. II was a confirmatory sanad dated 1194 Hijri year (?) in the 22nd regnal year of His Majesty the Emperor Shah 'Alam. A custom of confirmation of previous document by a subsequent Sanad prevailed in the Mughal Empire. Rajā Qadīr 'Alī's Sanad to the Ghātāl of Taluq Kakwara contained the same area, the same rent not a pie more or not a pie less, the terms were almost the same as before with this difference that in Captain Browne's Sanad the services were not expressly mentioned as military or semi military but were general, whereas in the Rajā Qadīr 'Alī's confirmatory Sanad they were specifically mentioned as semi-military. The services imposed on the Ghātāl were usual to the Government being continued and further the ghats and chawkis should be kept in good order and vigilance ⁽¹⁵⁾.

The terms are definite. What was the status of the Kharagpur Raj when Rājā 'Qadīr 'Alī granted the sanad? Was he acting on his behalf as a Mansabdar or on behalf of the E. I. Company who had restored him or on behalf of the Delhi Emperor under whom lay his Raj. There is no doubt that the rulers of Kharagpur were Mansabdars who had fought in Kābul and Qandahar at the time of Shāh Jahān and

¹² Cowell, History of the Constitution of Courts in British India p. 30

¹⁴ Dickinson's Sanad to Handiwe in 1794, for a specimen of the Mughal Farman to a Zamindar. See A. Philip's Land Tenure in lower Bengal, Tagore law lectures, 1976 Appendix

¹⁵ Pattas and the Leen lo

Aurangzēb, their official status was subordinate to the Sūbehdār of Bengal⁽¹⁸⁾ Rājā Muzaffar 'Alī was dismissed in 1761-62 by the Governor of Bengal, Nawāb Qāsim 'Alī. He was restored by a Parwanā of the Council of Calcutta under Warren Hastings in 1781 A.D. though his actual reinstatement dates a year before. The military collectorship of Jungle Tarāi ends in 1778-9 and it was joined to the civil collectorate of Bhagalpur under Mr. Cleveland. Mr. Cleveland perceived that Captain Browne had done too much havoc with the people and property of the Jungle Tarāi and still the country was far from being subdued. So he gave up the policy of repression *cum* conciliation of Captain Browne and sincerely followed a policy of conciliation. Mr. Cleveland restored the Kharagpur Rāj to their position in 1780 and the " made many new such settlements Raja Qadir 'Alī of Bengal in 176 of Bengal in 176 in 1780-01. It r

Zamindārī position of the Rāj and not invest him with the political rights inherent in their Mansab. Was the Zamindārī of Khārāgpur after 1780 a succession in interest to the Mughals or a mere non political Zamindārī of the British type? There was no denying that the Imperial seal was affixed and allegiance was sworn to the Emperor of Delhi, sometimes the Regnal year of Shāh 'Alam, the reigning Emperor of Delhi was mentioned. Was the mention of the Regnal year significant? Was it mentioned by Rājā Qādir 'Alī as a mere family custom? But Captain Browne's sanad too sometimes mentioned the Regnal year⁽¹⁹⁾ and he had no family custom to follow, no family allegiance to swear by the use of the words Fidwī Shāh 'Alam. The sanads stated in some cases that copies of documents were kept in Hazoūr (superior court). The despatch of copies of important document was an administrative rule in Mughal India⁽²⁰⁾. It proves that the link between the Central Government and the subordinate Government in the provinces were still maintained, at least in form. The Mughal Zamindar was not a mere intermediary for revenue purposes, as he is to day, but he was something more in Mughal days. He was an officer too⁽²¹⁾. He could act on his behalf and use the Government seal.

addressing the Qanūngos assumed a superior position to those of the Government

¹⁸ During the period of his Civil Collectorship, he granted no less than 87,084 bighas of land in this and the adjoining tracts upon Ghatwālī tenures in conformity with the orders of Government.

¹⁹ Browne's Patta to Handwā Ghatwāl bears the mention of regnal year, also Browne's Kakwara 'Amalnama bear 17th year

²⁰ Wahed Hossain, Administration of Justice in Mughal India Chapter 3

²¹ Moreland, India at the death of Akbar, p. 3

officers His official status was therefore above the Qanūngos The grant of Rājā Qadīr 'Alī to all intents and purposes preserved the formalities of an imperial transaction (22)

What was the scope of rights created by the 'Amalnāma of Browne and the Sanad of Rājā Qadīr 'Alī? The scope of rights has to be determined by the status of the man who granted these documents It is true that one could not delegate or confer more powers than he himself possessed But it is also equally true that ultimate assumption of a higher status might legalise an otherwise illegal act of an earlier authority Such was the position of the rights created by the aforesaid 'Amalnāma and by the confirmatory Sanad of Rājā Qadīr 'Alī and subsequently never disturbed by the settlement of Cornwallis 23 The British acting under the shadow of the Mughal Emperors' rights within their rights tion of higher authority is by Captain James Browne, the military collector of jungle Tarai, subsequently confirmed by Mahārājā Qadīr 'Alī and finally included by E I Company in the celebrated permanent settlement without any change in the assessment already made by Captain Browne

Now what was the nature of the tenure granted to the taluq Kakwara? It was a Ghātwalī tenure for which the term feudal lord is not the exact synonym The tenure was granted by the Central Government or its local representative on behalf of the Government A ghātwalī created by the Central Government had a higher status being created by the royal farman A Ghatwali might be created by the Zamindār, even by a superior Ghatw his own duties and obligations A Zamin specified purpose Lands might be given to a "Chākran" (right of servant) The Sanad of Rājā Qadīr 'Alī to taluq Kakwara gives some interesting terms which throw important lights on local police administration The Ghātwal was told that 'the ghāts and chawkis should be watched and looked after with due diligence and vigilance so that thieves and murderers may not remain near them If any body's property is stolen or plundered and cattle stolen they (ghatwals) will be punishable They should arrest the thieves and might murder with property intact and make over the properties to the owner and produce the offender to the Hazoor (superior authority) and prove the murder If they fail to seize the thieves and prove the guilt of murderers and the cattle stealers they must consider the responsibility of themselves To perform this service the Ghātwalīs of Taluq Kakwarā in the tract of jungle Tarāī was appointed permanent Ghatwalīs on a rent of Rs 245 12 15 gandas including Pargana charges The services were of the nature of police and quasi military duties With the

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23 The basis of the Pargana rate of settlement was presumably not followed in Kakwara Settlement that shows it had a different status than Zamindari See Browne's grant to Hāndwe was confirmed in 1774 by Dickinson Chakri grant of Browne was confirmed by Mr Chapman Collector of Ramghar

restoration of order in the territory and with the assumption of actual administration by the British, the service of the Ghātwāls were no longer necessary. But the tenures were hereditary though not inheritable, i.e., the son does not succeed the father. The son steps into his father's ghātwāli but holds it of the Government without any reference to his father's obligations. He gets it free of all encumbrance imposed upon it by the outgoing incumbent. His property is not salable in a rent suit. It can not be sold against a mortgage. The tenure is personal still today as it is in the Government Ghātwāli and if the

. " The fiction of the military

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ACCESSION OF NAWAB SA'ADAT ALI KHAN TO THE MASNAD OF OUDH.

(From unpublished Sources)

(By Mr. G. R. Gurbax, B A .)

On the death of Asaf ud-daula, Nawab-Wazir of Oudh in 1797, palace influence, particularly the influence of the Begum (the mother of the late Nawab) and of Alma Ali Khan secured the succession for Wazir Ali, a reputed son of the late Nawab. This involved the supersession of the claims of Nawab Sa'adat Ali Khan, the late Nawab's eldest surviving brother, who was at Benares at the time. Sa'adat Ali Khan had fixed his residence there for about twenty years, and was living expressly in expectation of the succession. Accordingly, the news of Wazir Ali's accession caused him great mortification, and he immediately made representations to Sir John Shore, the Governor General, to depose Wazir Ali and install him on the *Masnad*.

In this he was successful. Even before the death of his brother he had established close relations with the English, had concluded an agreement with them, and was generally favourably regarded by them. Other influential personages at Lucknow

supporters. His deposition and the formal installation of Sa'adat Ali on the *Masnad* took place on January 21, 1798, after Wazir had reigned for four months. The deposed prince was required to go away from Lucknow and live at Benares under the surveillance of Mr G F Cherry, the British Resident there. Sir John Shore had, however, his misgivings about the choice of the place. As he wrote in his minute of March 5, 1797, and letter to the Court of Directors —

"At some future period I would recommend his removal from Benares to some situation within the provinces of the Company, and no place appears to me more proper than Rajemahal. Under the fullest conviction, that not a human being ever believed him to have a shadow of right to the Musnud, and without the most distant apprehension that his title to it will ever be revived, common prudence dictates the propriety of a more distant removal from a country where, for four months, he acted as sovereign, that nothing may be left to chance, which prudence can obviate. At present, in the indulgence of youthful dissipation he finds every gratification which he can desire, but we are not to forget that he has exhibited marks not only of a depraved and vicious character, but of an ambitious and fearless disposition, capable of any acts of desperation." (Asiatic Annual Register, Vol VIII, 1806—Part I, State Papers, page 5)

ary 19, 1799,
pre meditat-
abscond. A
British force was, however, sent after him in pursuit and he was seized at Jaipur towards the end of the year and made over to the English authorities

These events have been related with the help of the English records. There are, however, certain Persian sources, which so far as I know, are not available in translation, which give fuller information concerning the activities of Sa'adat Ali Khan and his share in these transactions. These sources are —

(1) *Imadus Sa'adat*

(2) *Sawanihat i Sulatinat i Oudh*

Both these accounts are in manuscript form and are preserved in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. My attention was drawn to them by Sir Jadunath Sarkar.*

In addition there are two Persian letters in the archives of the Imperial Record Department written by Sa'adat Ali Khan and addressed to Marquis Wellesley, which furnish information on the murder of Mr. Cherry and Wazir Ali's arrest. In the first of these letters, dated the 19th January, 1799, Sa'adat Ali conveyed the news of Mr. Cherry's murder to the Governor General, and recounted the steps he had taken for apprehending Wazir Ali. In the second, dated the 21st December, 1799, he communicated the news of Wazir Ali's arrest at Jaipur and his felicitations to the Governor General on this event. I first saw these at an exhibition of Indian historical records held at Poona, and was enabled afterwards to obtain copies of both the original letters and of their translations from the Imperial Records Department through the courtesy of Dr. S. N. Sen, the Keeper of the Imperial Records.

I shall now set forth the information contained in these sources in their chronological order.

first of these attempts —

'Nawab Sa'adat Ali Khan came over from Digha to Akbarabad. In exchange of the customary cordial correspondence he wrote to inform the Nawab Governor General Hastings of his arrival at Akbarabad and of his intention to go somewhere. Mr. Hastings wrote in reply that it was not advisable to go anywhere rather he should stay at Lucknow. He would receive annually during the life time of Nawab Asaf ud Daula four lacs

This was followed, at some date which is not stated but probably during the Governor Generalship of Sir John Shore, by a visit to Calcutta with the same object. The *Sawanihat* gives an account of this visit and of the consideration that was shown him by the Company's high officials. The account runs —

"He was a man of great sagacity and understanding and was alive to the consequences of his actions, so he departed to Calcutta. He was interviewed by the Council before which he preferred his claim to his noble ancestral states on the death of Nawab Asaf ud Daula. The Sahibs

(1) *Imadus Sa'adat*—Ms. No. 195 (R. A. S. B.) Also lithographed

Sawanihat i Sulatinat i Oudh—Ms. No. 931, (R. A. S. B.)

of his brother he should compose his impatience and remain content with the fixed allowances he received. After that event (his brother's death) he (the Governor General) considered it his duty to try his utmost and to restore the claimed to the rightful claimant. Among others, this courtesy was shown to him that the Sahibs on horse back kept behind him and considered it a discourtesy to precede him, and if inadvertently any one rode ahead he instantly drew back. The moat round the fort of Calcutta was removed. The horse of the Nawab jumped over the moat, the General of the fort was undecided, and the matters reached the Council who gave the decision that it was not right and proper to take possession of alien property, but out of their regard for the Nawab this gate of the fort was assigned as his private property, and it was kept locked and no one used this gate. On completing the sight seeing and a tour of Calcutta the Janab Ali (Sa'adat Ali Khan) returned to Benares and awaited to see what the fates had in store for him" (Sawanihat-i Salatin i Oudh, page 58)*

Sa'adat Ali Khan's relations with his brother, Nawab Asaf ud daula were not easy. The reasons for this are not expressly given. But the two Persian sources indicate that he was at times asked to take up his residence at Lucknow, and did as a matter of fact make a temporary stay and received considerate treatment from Asaf ud-daula under certain conditions but that owing to difference in temperament preferred to live at Benares. In one of the extracts quoted above it has been stated that Warren Hastings requested Sa'adat to go and live at Lucknow. How Sa'adat acted on this suggestion and the subsequent events are related in the *Imadus Sa'adat*

"On receipt to Lucknow Nawab Asaf ud great pleasure, provided he was not accompanied by two persons, one Tafuzzul Hossain Khan and the other Khaja Yalam Muhammad Khan alias Biddi Mirza

"The Nawab Governor General apprised Nawab Sa'adat of these facts. He was ill pleased with the condition and unwilling to comply with it. But Khan Alama and Mirza Mu'izat Allah prevailed upon him to accede to his brother's request. The best interests of a servant, they said, could only be served if it was beneficial to the master. Whatever is beneficial for the master is good for the servant. He should depart hence to Lucknow. His servants would scatter here and there in search

Man's state always changed. Patience! Nawab Asaf ud daula on enjoying your Society might forget his ill natured condition and he might himself suggest the sending of the letter of order recalling the presence of them, the servants, to Lucknow

in his knowledge Asaf ud daula expressed his joy on his brother's arrival. But as submission to an other's will was irksome to Nawab Sa'adat Ali his stay at Lucknow was not pleasant

* The extracts from the Sawanihat are not exact translation but give the purport in the fullest detail

for him There were other contributory causes At the end it was resolved that he should reside at Benares and whatever allowance was fixed for his household expenses he would receive through the agency of the English Nawab Sa'adat Ali was mighty pleased He reached Benares and resided on the bank of the river at a place called Dwarka Kund He awaited on the mercy of the unknown, i.e. Fate, for twenty years in that city " (Imadus Sa'adat, page 263)

The *Sawanihat* also has

"The Nawab Vazir ul mulk, on the departure of the army of Nawab Najaf Khan, and a short stay at Lucknow, graced the city of Benares with his presence During his stay at Lucknow Nawab Asaf ud daula treated him with great respect and regard and entertained him lavishly It was his fond desire to proclaim Ghazi-ud din Haider Khan the noble son of Sa'adat Ali Khan as his adopted son and heir and successor to the State, but as the society of the late Nawab was not agreeable to him and their tempaments were poles apart, he did not deem it opportune to remain at Lucknow and preferred to continue his stay at Benares " (*Sawanihat* i-Salatin i Oudh page 58)

His hopes for the *Masnud* were, however, shattered for the moment by the accession of Wazir Ali As the *Imadus* says —

'The day he received the news of the death of Nawab Asaf ud daula and of the accession to office of Wazir Ali Khan his grief and anger was aroused on two counts He was grieved for his brother's death and angry on the accession of a stranger to the paternal *Masnud* which would prove to be the cause of the ruin of the edifice of his House A letter containing these matters and his complaint about the breach of contract which had been entered into between himself and the Nawab Governor General Mr Hastings was despatched to Nawab Governor General Mr Shore He followed his letter to Calcutta He had an interview with the Governor General ' (*Imadus Sa'adat* page 263)

The *Sawanihat* gives a more detailed account of his activities and also relates how he finally succeeded in his object The account is quoted below —

Being sad and astonished since after the death of Nawab Asaf ud daula, Mirza Wazir Ali Khan ascended on the *Masnud* of the state he started with his

In short when the budgerow of Janab Ali was staying at Raj Mahal, after passing the fourth part of the night the English peon handed over the same letter to the Maulvi On receiving this sudden message they were greatly pleased and owing to fealty placed it before Janab Ali Whatever was particularly written in it was nearly granted On the following morning they started towards Benares while the Resident Sahib being face to face, made an agreement with Janab Ali would be neither objection nor re-
æment and handed it over to the
wards Kathpur Till the news of
the same reason there was delay
the news of the arrival reached in

the evening they imprisoned him

In short on the 21st of January, 1798 A. D., he penetrated into the city, entered the Royal Palace and sat on the seat of the Wazarat. According to custom, the relatives and the Amirs paid tribute to him

At that time his age was nearly fifty years. For one complete year he passed his life in luxury." (*Sawanihat-i-Salatin-i-Oudh*, page 58, R. A. S. B.)

The final development regarding Wazir Ali is given in his letters to Marquis Wellesley on the murder of Mr. Cherry. The first letter runs.—

From Nawab Sa'adat Ali Khan to Marquis Wellesley, Earl of Mornington, Governor General, dated 12th *Shaban* 1213 (19th January 1799 A. D.) (Received 12th February 1799).

"After compliments At this time Vazir Ali, at Benares, has committed a deed which even the most brutal person may not have perpetrated. That is, on 7 *Shaban*

and notwithstanding that there is no remedy for what befalls from Fate I immediately issued peremptory orders and *shuqqas* to all the officers, *zamindars*, *sawars*,

lth and welfare you will
of your health. May

(Original Persian letter received, 12th Feby. 1799, No 25)

A second letter followed at the end of the same year, and ran to the following effect —

From Nawab Sa'adat Ali Khan to Marquis Wellesley, Earl of Mornington, Governor General Received 21st December, 1799

"I have just now understood from a letter received by Colonel Scott from Colonel Collins that Rajah Pertaub Sing of Jaipur having secured the assassin, this officer was proceeding this pleasing intelligence vent must be attributed to the wisdom and prudence of the Company's Government and to the fear entertained of their power and influence and will doubtless serve as a warning and cause disappointment to the enemies of the two States May the Just and Righteous God ever in this manner abandon and punish enemies of our respective Governments and may all friends by hearing such glad tidings be made ever happy.

I hope from your Lordship's kindness that deeming me desirous of receiving the pleasing accounts of your Lordship's health, you will continue to gratify me with letters until I may have the pleasure of a personal interview with your Lordship."

(Original Persian letter received 21st December 1799, No. 435.)



The Evacuation of the Island of Karrack, 1841-42.

[By Dr Bool Chand M A , Ph D]

The records of the Government of India reveal a most interesting case of conflict between the Government of India under Lord Auckland and the British Foreign Office in the year 1841. The conflict of view related to the small island of Karrak in the Persian Gulf which had been occupied by the Government of India by means of a small force of 387 sepoys under Col. Sheriff on the 19th of June, 1838 as a counterblast to the Persian invasion of Herat.¹

1 It must at the very start be made clear that the situation of Herat made it imperative in the view of the Government of India, that that country should be independent or at least in friendly hands. The territory of Herat is the only route by which a large and fully equipped army could advance towards India from the north west, and the city of Herat was, therefore, truly considered the gate of Afghanistan'. The Government of India could not look upon a Persian invasion of Herat with equanimity, as it was clear that the Shah was being encouraged in his schemes of conquest by the Russians.

The Persian invasion of Herat began in November 1837. On the 22nd of that month the siege was laid to the city, and continued for quite several months. After six months had already passed, Mr McNeill the British Ambassador to Persia, arrived on the 6th of April 1838 in camp and remonstrated against the action of the Shah in attacking Herat, telling him that if he should still persist in his actions, Great Britain would consider herself at liberty to take measures to compel the withdrawal of the Persian army. The siege was however, still continued making it necessary for the British to make some demonstration in order to check the enthusiasm of the Persians. This was done by the capture of the island of Karrak in June 1838. The demonstration had the desired result, the warlike Shah was terrified at the arrival of a few sepoys on an island thirty miles from the coast of Persia. Anhow the Persians made a desperate assault on the 24th of June but failed to capture the fortress. Marshman compares the memorable defence of Herat against 40 000 Persian troops, aided by the skill of Russian engineers with the defence of Arcot by Clive.² In the face of such failure, the Persian army began to retreat from before Herat on the 9th of September.

Persian failure and retreat ought, it is arguable to have set at rest the fears and agitation of the Government of India regarding the grand projects of Persia but unfortunately it did not. Lord Auckland, always incapable of taking firm decisions and acting for the most part under the influence of those who surrounded him, and now unfortunately separated from the constitutional advice of his Council, for they were in Calcutta while he himself was in Simla took a different view, and after the retreat of the Persians sent Major Idd on a mission to negotiate a treaty of alliance with the ruler of Herat in order 'to secure on our western frontier an ally who was interested in resisting aggression in place of chiefs ranging themselves in subservience to a

¹ Although this matter is of comparative insignificance yet it may be mentioned that the force was sent by Lord Auckland in answer to the request in March 1838 of Mr McNeill, who felt that the despatch of a British expeditionary force to the Persian Gulf was the sole means of compelling the Shah to listen to the British representation.

² See J C Marshman History of India 1867, Vol II, p 139

hostile power ¹ The treaty was completed in August 1839, the Governor General granting a monthly allowance for the support of the state in order to effect the abolition of slave trade in Herat But in spite of this treaty, the intrigues of the Herat ruler and his Minister, Yar Muhammad with Persia continued, Yar Muhammad writing to the Persian Government that he merely tolerated the English envoy from expediency, but that his hopes were in the Asylum of Islam ², and along with these intrigues continued the fear of Persian advancement on the part of Lord Auckland

2 The Government in England however had a better assessment of the situation particularly after the victories in Afghanistan in 1840 and 1841 It is possible that the impulse towards a forward North West policy on Lord Auckland's part had been given in 1836 by the home authorities A despatch from London dated 25th June 1836 ³ did warn the Governor General of the dangerous character of Russian action in Persia mentioning that Dost Muhammad from Kabul and his brother Kohindil Khan from Kandhar were in active correspondence with the Persian court But by 1841, the fears of the British Government had definitely cooled down On June 7 1838 when the Shah was continuing the siege of Herat in spite of McNeill's remonstrances the British Envoy had taken the serious step of declaring his relations with the Government of Persia suspended now, on the 28th of June 1841 Lord Palmerston Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs sent him back in order to resume his diplomatic functions at the court of Persia ⁴ In giving instructions as to his attitude to the Shah and his Ministers and the reply to be given to any solicitations for the good offices of Great Britain Lord Palmerston said ⁵ 'Great Britain has now established in Afghanistan a better and firmer barrier for her Indian possessions than she could ever have hoped to create in Persia and now perhaps the best way of retaining our hold in Persia will be to let the Persian Government understand that though still wishing well to Persia we feel comparatively indifferent about our connection with her and that it is now for Persia to court England and that England will no longer court Persia'

Detailed instructions to Sir John McNeill had already been given on the 5th of July ⁶ You will therefore immediately after your audience with the Shah invite the Persian Minister to proceed to the signature of this Treaty and you will say that the British ratification thereof shall be prepared without delay, and that as soon as the Ratification of the two Crowns shall have been exchanged you will be authorised to send directions to the officer commanding the British detachments in Karrak to evacuate that island and to deliver it up to the person who may be appointed by the Persian Government to receive it and you will add that to expedite the evacuation of the island you are instructed to let the Governor General of India know when the Commercial Treaty shall have been signed so that arrangements may be made for immediately evacuating the island as soon as the officer commanding 'here shall receive from you further information that the Treaty has been ratified But if the Shah should be willing to ratify the Treaty at once without waiting

¹ *Ref* Lord Auckland's minute dated 1st October 1838

² See Markham History of Persia 1874 p 481

³ Quoted by Sir Auckland Colvin Life of John Russell Colvin pp 86-88

⁴ See Despatch from the Court of Directors 753 of 1841

⁵ In his despatch dated 10th August 1841 See Secret Despatches from Court, No 775 of 1841

⁶ See Despatches from Court No 765 of 1841

for the Queen's ratification and if the Shah would give you his ratification to be sent to England with the Treaty itself in that case you should send word to that effect to the Officer Commanding at Karrak in order that he may cause the British troops to evacuate the island without further delay. But you will state to the Shah and his Ministers that His Majesty's Government expect and demand that the inhabitants of Karrak shall not after the restoration of that island to the authorities of the Shah be exposed to any persecution or molestation whatever in consequence of their temporary connection with the British Government and you will require a written and personal engagement to this effect before you send any communication to the Officer in command of Karrak for the evacuation of that island. A copy of these instructions was sent to the Rt Hon Sir John Hobhouse President of the Board of Control with the request that it may be transmitted to the Governor General of India and that His Excellency's attention may be specially called to those parts of this which relates to the period of evacuation of the island of Karrak.¹

On his arrival in Teheran Sir John McNeill immediately addressed himself to the main task of concluding the Commercial Treaty and was able to report on the 30th of October 1841 that the Treaty of Commerce between Great Britain and Persia had been signed on the 28th instant and had received the ratification of the Shah on the same day but that 'this Treaty will probably not come into operation until the Queen's ratification shall have been received here.'²

In accordance with the instructions of the Foreign Secretary that 'if the Shah should be willing to ratify the Treaty at once without waiting for the Queen's ratification and if the Shah should give the ratification to be sent to England along with the Treaty itself in that case you should send word to the effect to the Officer Commanding at Karrak in order that he may cause the British troops to evacuate the island without further delay' Sir John McNeill had during the negotiations given the Persian Minister to understand that on the conclusion of a Commercial Treaty between the Governments the British troops should evacuate the island of Karrak. And now that the Commercial Treaty had been signed and had received the Shah's ratification to be sent home along with the Treaty he thought it necessary—in view of the fulfilment of all precedential conditions—to address the Resident in the Persian Gulf and the Officer Commanding the detachment in Karrak directing the evacuation of the island by the British troops with as little delay as may be found practicable informing the Officer Commanding that 'if arrangements for the transport of troops should not already have been made he should communicate with the Resident in the Persian Gulf as to the means of giving the necessary intimation as speedily as possible to the Bombay Government by whom the amount of tonnage required would be doubtless immediately furnished as that Government had certainly for some time been in possession of instructions on this subject.'³ At the same time he wrote to the Secretary to Government of India enclosing 'copies of letters which had passed between His Persian Majesty's Ministers and myself respecting the inhabitants of the island of Karrak from which you will perceive that the

¹ *Ibid*

² See Secret Consultations 20th December 1841

³ See Sir John McNeill's letter dated 28th October 1841 in Secret Proceedings 20th December 1841

hostile power ¹ The treaty was completed in August 1839 the Governor General granting a monthly allowance for the support of the state in order to effect the abolition of slave trade in Herat But in spite of this treaty the intrigues of the Herat ruler and his Minister Yar Muhammad with Persia continued Yar Muhammad writing to the Persian Government that he merely tolerated the English envoy from expediency, but that his hopes were in the Asylum of Islam ² and along with the intrigues continued the fear of Persian advancement on the part of Lord Auckland

2 The Government in England however had a better assessment of the situation particularly after the victories in Afghanistan in 1840 and 1841 It is possible that the impulse towards a forward North West policy on Lord Auckland's part had been given in 1836 by the home authorities A despatch from London dated 20th June 1836 ³ did warn the Governor General of the dangerous character of Russian action in Persia mentioning that Dost Muhammad from Kabul and his brother Kohandil Khan from Kandhar were in active correspondence with the Persian court But by 1841 the fears of the British Government had definitely cooled down On June 7 1839 when the Shah was continuing the siege of Herat in spite of McNeill's remonstrances the British Envoy had taken the serious step of declaring his relations with the Government of Persia suspended now on the 28th of June 1841 Lord Palmerston Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs sent him back in order to resume his diplomatic functions at the court of Persia ⁴ In giving instructions as to his attitude to the Shah and his Ministers and the reply to be given to any solicitations for the good offices of Great Britain Lord Palmerston said ⁵ Great Britain has now established in Afghanistan a better and firmer barrier for her Indian possessions than she could ever have hoped to create in Persia and now perhaps the best way of retaining our hold in Persia will be to let the Persian Government understand that though still wishing well to Persia we feel comparatively indifferent about our connection with her and that it is now for Persia to court England and that England will no longer court Persia

Detailed instructions to Sir John McNeill had already been given on the 5th of July ⁶ You will therefore immediately after your audience with the Shah invite the Persian Minister to proceed to the signature of this Treaty and you will say that the British ratification thereof shall be prepared without delay and that as soon as the Ratification of the two Crowns shall have been exchanged you will be authorised to send directions to the officer commanding the British detachments in Herat to evacuate that island and to deliver it up to the person who may be appointed by the Persian Government to receive it and you will add that to expedite the evacuation of the island you are instructed to let the Governor General of India know when the Commercial Treaty shall have been signed so that arrangements may be made for immediately evacuating the island as soon as the officer commanding here shall receive from you further information that the Treaty has been ratified But if the Shah should be willing to ratify the Treaty at once without waiting

¹ Ref Lord Auckland's minute dated 1st October 1838

² See Markham History of Persia 1874 p 481

³ Quoted by Sir Auckland Colvin Life of John Russell Colvin pp 86-88

⁴ See Despatch from the Court of Directors 753 of 1841

⁵ In his despatch dated 10th August 1841 See Secret Despatches from Court No 775 of 1841

⁶ See Despatches from Court No 765 of 1841

for the Queen's ratification and if the Shah would give you his ratification to be sent to England with the Treaty itself in that case you should send word to that effect to the Officer Commanding at Karrah in order that he may cause the British troops to evacuate the island without further delay. But you will state to the Shah and his Ministers that His Majesty's Government expect and demand that the inhabitants of Karrah shall not after the restoration of that island to the authorities of the Shah be exposed to any persecution or molestation whatever in consequence of their temporary connection with the British Government and you will require a written and personal engagement to this effect before you send my communication to the Officer in command of Karrah for the evacuation of that island. A copy of these instructions was sent to the Rt Hon Sir John Hobhouse President of the Board of Control with the request that it may be transmitted to the Governor General of India and that His Excellency's attention may be specially called to those parts of this which relates to the period of evacuation of the island of Karrah.¹

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¹ *Ib id*

² See Secret Consultations 20th December 1841

³ See Sir John McNeill's letter dated 28th October 1841 in Secret Proceedings 20th December 1841

Shah promises not to molest them in consequence of their intercourse with us and will give orders to that effect to the Governor of Fars in a farman' ¹

3 The Governor General of India, however, in his frame of mind, could not have considered the terms of the instructions to Sir John McNeill satisfactory. On receipt from the Secret Committee of the copy of instructions issued to Sir John McNeill by Lord Palmerston under date 3rd July, the Governor-General himself wrote to Sir J. McNeill in direct antagonism to the instructions of the Foreign Secretary that 'His Lordship in Council is not disposed to rest satisfied without a complete and formal renunciation by Persia of her pretensions on Afghanistan, and if you should find on your observation of the feelings of the Persian Government that it is not to be trusted in regard to the abandonment of its intrigues with that country and in the general tenor of its conduct towards Great Britain, His Lordship in Council will be quite prepared to take on himself the responsibility of advising that you withhold the order for the evacuation of Karrak until perfectly satisfactory assurances shall be obtained from the Shah in these respects' ². At the same time Capt Hennell, Resident in Persian Gulf, was instructed to ask the Officer Commanding at Karrak not to withdraw any part of the force from that island until the arrival of further instructions from the Government of India. By the mail of 1st September, however copies of these despatches were forwarded to the Secret Committee asking for definitive orders of the Home Authorities on the course to be pursued with regard to Karrak.

The Government of India's letter despatched on the 16th of August was received by Sir John McNeill on the 9th of November 1841 and he sent a reply that very day protesting against the Governor General's instructions to Capt Hennell against withdrawal from Karrak. He had already concluded the agreement with the Persian Government and therefore he proceeded to say:— 'Had I received these instructions from the Rt Hon the Governor General before I had opened or even before I had terminated the negotiations with this Government for the conclusion of the Commercial Treaty it might have been in my power to postpone or to protract these negotiations until I should have received further information from His Lordship but even this would have been in direct contravention of my instructions both written and verbal. But my despatches of the 1st instant will inform His Lordship that the Commercial Treaty has been signed and ratified, that the Persian Government has granted the indemnity to the people of Karrak which I was instructed to demand, that the Shah has thus fulfilled all the conditions upon which Her Majesty's Government had engaged to evacuate the island of Karrak, that in accordance with the arrangement agreed upon between the two Governments in the correspondence of Lord Palmerston and Hajee Mirza Aghasee, and in obedience to my instructions I had addressed a letter to the Officer Commanding the British detachments at Karrak directing him to evacuate that island and had officially intimated to the Persian Ministers my intention to give these directions. I cannot doubt that under these circumstances the Right Hon the Governor General will be of opinion that the British Government is bound in good faith to fulfil engagements thus formally concluded with the Persian Government and of which the Shah has already

¹ See Sir John McNeill's letter, dated 30th October 1841 in Secret Proceedings—20th December 1841

² See Letter dated Fort William, 16th August 1841, in Secret Consultations—20th December 1841

³ See Letter dated Tehran, 9th November 1841, in Secret Consultations—20th December 1841

performed his part I am the more fully impressed with this conviction because previous to my departure from England the intrigues of Persia with Herat were well known and it was even doubted whether the Shah might not have been enabled to introduce a garrison into Herat or might not be induced to aid Yar Mahomed Khan with money and troops. Contemplating the possibility of such a state of things I thought it my duty to put the case to Lord Palmerston and to enquire whether in the event of my finding on my arrival that the Shah was engaged in such proceedings it was the desire of Her Majesty's Government that I should conclude the Commercial Treaty and cause the evacuation of Karrak or that I should postpone the negotiations for effecting these objects. His Lordship was of opinion that even if the case I had supposed should have occurred it would be better to fulfil in perfect good faith the engagement entered into between the Governments to conclude the Commercial Treaty and to cause the evacuation of the island of Karrak, leaving the question respecting Afghanistan to be dealt with separately. My course, therefore, was perfectly clear and free from every doubt and that course I have pursued in strict conformity with my instructions and with the wishes of Her Majesty's Government.

4 The conflict of instructions thus occasioned by the conflict of views of the British Foreign Secretary and the Governor General of India in Council, naturally delayed the evacuation of Karrak. The conflict was ultimately resolved by the action of the Home Authorities, i.e. the Secret Committee, which had already been written to by the Government of India for 'definitive orders

It seems that the Court itself inclined to the view of the Governor-General in Council although the influences at home ultimately pressed them in the other direction. When on the 4th of September 1841 there was a change of administration in England they felt that there might be a chance for the prevalence of their view and they wrote to the Governor General "that no step should be taken with respect to Herat, which would have the effect of compelling the prosecution of a specific line of policy in the countries beyond the Indus, until the new Ministers shall have had the time to take the subject into their deliberate consideration and to communicate to us their opinions thereon".¹ But their hopes proved in vain, for when on the receipt on 25th October of the Government of India's letter of 16th August, the President of the Board of Control referred the question of Karrak to the new Foreign Secretary Lord Aberdeen he received the reply that "the Governor General will doubtless have received, since the date of this despatch, a copy of Viscount Palmerston's letter to the President of the Board of Control dated 23rd August, and His Excellency will have thereby been apprized of the strong objection felt by the Queen's Government to taking any measures with respect to Karrak, which should bear the appearance of a desire to evade the performance of the engagements entered into with the Persian Government for the surrender of that island. Her Majesty's Government continue to be of opinion that when Persia has fulfilled her engagements respecting the Commercial Treaty, Great Britain will be bound to cause the island of Karrak to be evacuated by the British forces".²

So, what proved decisive was the letter of Lord Palmerston to the President of the Board of Control of 23rd August 1841.³ It said that "if the

¹ See Despatches from Court, No 765 of 1841

² See Lord Aberdeen's letter in Despatches from Court, No 801 of 1841

³ See Lord Palmerston's letter in Despatches from Court, No 775 1841

Persian Government concludes the treaty of commerce with this country, which it has engaged to sign the British Government is positively bound to withdraw the British troops from Karrah. But the withdrawal of these troops would not render necessary the removal of the Company's Resident or the retirement of any British merchants who may have established themselves in the Island and it would be quite possible and perhaps expedient to have a small ship of war often visit the island for the purpose of affording protection to British interests.

On receiving the definitive orders of the Home Authorities the Governor General at last agreed to the evacuation of Karrah and wrote to Sir John McNeill on the 18th December that the Government of India holds itself bound by your engagements to the Court of Leheran for the surrender of Karrah to the officers of the Persian Government and that orders for its immediate evacuation unless that measure should in the meantime be countermanded by you or by the authorities in England will be this day forwarded by express through the Government of Bombay for the information and guidance of our resident in the Persian Gulf. The letter to the Secretary to Government of Bombay through whom instructions were conveyed to the Resident in the Persian Gulf bespoke the sense of mortification that was experienced by the Governor General in having to follow that course—

Although His Lordship in Council could have wished that the conclusion of the commercial treaty between Great Britain and Persia had been preceded by the disavowal on the part of Persia of further dangers of encroachment on the side of Herat and Afghanistan still as the Treaty had been signed there remains only the obligation of fulfilling in good faith the terms of it whereby the evacuation of Karrah is stipulated.

The evacuation of Karrah was at last effected in March 1842.

5 To a historian of India's constitutional development this complicated episode bears very high importance. It marks a significant step in the gradual extension of the Imperial Government's authority and influence upon the political activity of the Governor General of India and his Council at Calcutta after 1833.

It is said that Mr Pitt had by his Act of 1784 left to the Company the semblance of power while he had imperceptibly taken away the reality. The Court of Directors still remained 'the grandest corporation in the grandest city of the world' but there had been created behind it a machinery, a Government department which controlled all its movements. This machinery comprising a Board of Control (constituted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a Secretary of State and four Privy Counsellors holding office at the royal pleasure and appointed by the King) had been given control over all matters civil or military Government of the British territorial possessions in the East Indies. But the possibility of the Board encroaching upon the commercial business of the Company had been securely protected against, and since it is possible technically to argue—as indeed the argument was made in a slightly different context in 1830 with regard to the navigation of the river Indus—that even manifestly political activity might have a basic commercial motive this provision had protected a large part of the political activity of the Company from the interference of the Board and the decisive influence of the British Cabinet. The Company being a commercial as well as governmental corporation no President of the Board of Control could have reasonably bartered away its independence and made it wholly subordinate to a purely

political corporation like the British Cabinet. That the Company did retain a fair measure of independence in the management of its external political affairs may be established by instancing the despatch in 1810 of Sir John Malcolm as the envoy to the Persian Emperor by Lord Minto, Governor-General of India even although Sir Harford Jones was already attached to the Persian Court as representative of George III King of England.

But the Charter Act of 1833 made a fundamental change in the position of the Company. Now the territorial possessions of the Company were declared to be in trust for His Majesty, his heirs and successors for the service of the Government of India. Now the Company as a commercial corporation was definitely brought to an end: its exclusive right of trading with China and in tea retained in 1813 was terminated; the commercial business of the Company was closed and all property that was not retained for the purposes of the government of the territories was sold off under the supervision of the Board of Control. The result was the emergence of East India Company, a purely political and governmental corporation, in the place of the old United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

This change set into motion a process for the development of the power of British Cabinet over the Government of India in name as well as in fact. The process—gradual like all British institutions in their evolution—was intrinsically imperceptible although it might occasionally have caused some conflict—like the one that is the theme of this paper—between the power that was losing (the Government of India) and the power that was establishing its ascendancy (the British Government). The completion of this development had it is noteworthy already been achieved before the formal assumption of government by the Crown. On the 1st of November 1856 the Governor-General had declared the war against Persia in the name of the Indian Government; on the 4th of March 1857, however, the peace was concluded not between the Shah of Persia and the Governor-General of India, as might have been expected but at Paris between the Ambassador of the Queen of England and Ferouk Khan, Envoy Extraordinary of the Court of Teheran.

THE RIYĀDU'L-INSHĀ AS A SOURCE BOOK OF DECCAN HISTORY

[By H K. Sherwani, M A (Oxon), F R Hist S, Bar at Law]

The *Riyādu'l Inshā'* is the collection of the letters of the Bahmanī wazīr, Khwājā Mahmud Gāwān written either in his own name or in the name of his master the Bahmanī Sultan. The collection has not seen the light of print, still it cannot be said to be scarce and its manuscripts are interspersed in European and Indian libraries. The particular manuscript to which references will be made is from the Habibganj library kindly lent to me by the owner Nawwāb Sadr Yār Jang Bahādur and is numbered 50/136². It originally belonged to the late Nawwāb Muḥsinu'l Mulk Bahādur, once the Financial and Revenue Secretary of Hyderabad and later Honorary Secretary of the M A O College which has now developed into the Aligarh Muslim University. It is the best copy of the collection that I have seen and is written in a very good hand. Unfortunately the last five or six pages of the original probably containing the colophon, are missing and a transcript has been added with the result that it is impossible to discover when the particular copy was prepared.

It is strange that no one has yet utilised the work as a source book of history though there is a mass of historical material contained in it. Of the two small brochures so far published on the Khwājā's life³ only the late Mr 'Azīz Mirzā has given any account of the *Riyād*, but even he has dealt with it only as a work illustrating the ornate style of Persian prose in fashion in the middle of the fifteenth century.

There are altogether 145 letters in the collection out of which 84 have a direct bearing on the historical atmosphere in which they were written, while the letters to foreign potentates and ministers of foreign states are also of great historical significance.

private life, F
and party and
full of similes

ghazals as well as extracts from the Qur'ān, the Hadīth and numerous Arabic and Persian writers. They go to show the great command of the author, himself a *litterateur* of some eminence on the current literature and literary method of the period and it is no wonder that the book has so long been regarded more as a literary masterpiece than a historical source book.

Of the 145 letters 14 are addressed to the ministers of the Deccan from the battlefields 13 to ministers of foreign countries, 11 to Kings of Indian States (namely, Gujrat Jaunpur and Malwa) and 32 to rulers of foreign states (namely Turkey, 'Irāq Egypt and Gilān). Apart from those which have a bearing on the politics of the Deccan, there are 38 letters to the Khwājā's own relatives and 34 to men renowned in the world of learning and piety such as Maulānā Jāmī, Khwājā

¹ Haveram Wiener Jahrbuecher 62 Anz Blat 17 Fluegel Arab. Per und Turk Handachr der K. k. Bbl zu Wien I 261 N 232 233 284 St Petersburg Library Catalogue, I 416, Blochet Cat des Manuscrits persanes p 799 Asafiyah Library Hyderabad Deccan Insha. 148 Daftar-i Diwani Hyderabad Deccan, No 8, Rieu, Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum Or 1739 Or 1994

² The excellent copy in the Habibganj library is wrongly named *Riyad i Adab* on the binding. Unfortunately the leaves are wrongly numbered after 62 which is followed by a repetition of No 53 so there is a continuous mistake of 10 right up to the end. Ferishta calls the work *Raudatu'l Insha*.

³ Aziz Mirza, *Siratu'l Mahmud Badayun* 1927, Zahīru'd dīn Mahmud Gawan, Hyderabad Deccan 1927.

'Ubaidul lāh el Ahrār, 'Alī el Yezdī, Maulānā Kamālud dīn Rūmī and others, in some of which long and detailed descriptions of the occurrences in the Deccan are given

Of these, 33 letters have reference to the Khwājā's private life; thus one (No 21) refers to his arrival in India in the reign of 'Alāud' dīn Ahmad II, three (Nos 21, 49, 143) have reference to his political training in Humāyūn's court, and three allude to the short reign of Nizamu'd dīn Ahmad III. But the great mass of letters belongs to the time of Muhammad Shah Lashkarī, and it would be convenient to deal with these seriatim in connection with the occurrences which they relate

The Malwa campaign

Policy of encirclement.

Alliance with Gujrat—Preliminaries—Nos 116—138

Reference to a letter to the King of Jaunpūr—No 24

Signature and ratification of the Gujrat alliance—No 50

Alliance with Jaunpūr—No 64

The King of Gujrat is requested for a diversion against Malwa—Nos 12, 84

Mahmud Gawānī goes to Fathābād on the Khāndesh border—No 16

Threat to Malwa of a prolongation of the war and the beginning of negotiations—Nos 19, 74 75 83, 93

Letter to the King of Malwa—Peace—No 85

The campaign in the Konkan and the Malabar coast (all the letters in this connection are from the actual theatre of war)

The itinerary adopted with dates—Nos 8, 9, 12, 13, 33, 37, 38, 39, 41, 44, 47, 48 51, 53 58, 72, 86, 88, 89, 96

Intrigues at the court against the Khwājā's reputation—Nos 47, 49, 65 68 88

Lack of financial help and man power—No 89*

Death of the Queen Dowager—No 7

Although some of these letters are directly historical in character in that they were written in order to describe the actual happenings or else form part of the diplomatic correspondence of the Deccan, still some others are long private epistles written to friends or relative, and historical points can only be gleaned from them only after a study of their contents. Even those letters which are of a diplomatic character and relate to foreign relations of the Bhamnār State, such as the ones to the King of Gujrat and the Malwese ministers and envoys, are epistles with what seem to us immoderately long commencements and forms of address sometimes going on to a number of pages, a feature which would be regarded as very cumbersome nowadays but which was commonly current before the all too short manner of writing crept in.

As has been mentioned above, the otherwise excellent copy of the Riyād, which I have utilised does not contain the colophon, but most of the other copies in the public libraries of the world have the year of the transcription clearly appended, and some of these, like the one in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, were written within a few years of the Khwājā's death¹. This leads to the question of the

¹Blochot p 399. The copy No 689 was written in 911/1506 *i.e.*, within 20 years of the Khwājā's death

authenticity of the letters in question. The first thing to say about the matter is that their authenticity has never been questioned either by European or Oriental authors. Then apart from the internal evidence which is amply forthcoming, there is positive external evidence of their authenticity. Among the four letters in the collection addressed to Muhammad II the Conqueror of Constantinople there is one, No. 142, the main theme of which is the praise of the Conqueror for his eminent deeds of valour. Now this letter with certain minor variations¹ is found *verbatim* in 'the copies of letters of Muhammad II and Bayezid II to the Shahs of Persia and other princes and eminent men with their answers from A H 848 to 913', a manuscript which is preserved in the British Museum². The letter in question is on folios 45 to 47 with the reply from the Sultan Conqueror on folios 47 to 49. In the preface to this Ms. there is a note in Turkish to the effect that the *Lisâh-ir* or Purse Bearer Muhammad el Qudsi found the book on sale and induced the Reisül Kuttâb or Head of the Secretariat to purchase it and keep it in the Imperial Archives. This note is dated 1165/1752.

Rieu, the learned compiler of the catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum says that these letters really form a portion of the cast catalogue, of Imperial letters, the *Munsha'at*'s *Salâtin*, compiled by Nishanî Ahmad Faridûn³. The *Munsha'at*'s *Salâtin* was separately published at Constantinople in two volumes aggregating 1226 closely printed pages in 1264 1265/1857 1858, and the letter in question is found on page 258 of the first volume. Although without doubt the main body of the letter in the Ms. and the printed compendium is identical it is evident that the letter in the *Munsha'at* has not been copied from the collection picked up by Muhammad el Qudsi at an auction hall in 1165/1752, but, as is categorically stated at the end of the second volume, the material was copied from the complete manuscript in possession of a certain Muhammad Labib. Even the minor differences between the two go to prove that the two works have distinct sources. As an instance might be mentioned that while the Turkish heading of the letter in the B M manuscript reads "This letter was sent to Sultan Muhammad Ghâzi by the writer Khwâja Jahân on behalf of the Indian Kurg Muhammad Shah Bahmanî"⁴ the corresponding letter in the *Munsha'at* is headed "This letter was sent to the sill of His Imperial Majesty Lord of Victories and Battles, Sultan Muhammad Shah Ghâzi whose abode is in paradise by Khwâja Jahân on behalf of Bahman Shâh"⁵. Although the contents of the letters in the collection are almost identical it is clear that if one had only been a copy of the other the headings and the wordings would have been exactly the same. Thus both the external and internal evidence leads us to say that the two collections are distinct.

We thus know that the letter No. 142 in the *Rivâdul Inshâ* a work then entirely unknown in Turkey, is identical to a large extent with the corresponding letters in two distinct collections: viz. the letter on folio 45 of the B M Manuscript collection and that on page 258 of the *Munsha'at*, Vol. I, so that the conclusion is irrefutable that the letter is genuine and the collection in which it is found consists of letters from the Khwâja himself. And this conclusion is also irresistible because every one of these 145 letters is written with the feelings of the man who was the

¹ Thus the commencement of the letters is slightly different and there are a few verbal differences.

² B M Or., 61.

³ Rieu, 394 a.

⁴ ودماعه لي سلطان محمد غازي ده همد پادشاهي محمد شاه دهنی گوندر مشدر حواحه جهان اشايلا
اموالفتح والبري حتما مكن سلطان محمد خان غازي درگاهند حواحه جهان اشايلا همد
پادشاهي دهنی شاه طرفتى

⁵ *Munsha'at*, II, 258, *repliv*, 260.

main actor or victim of the facts contained in it, full of all his enthusiasm, his discontent with certain arrangements and with all the details so dear to him. The fact again, that certain details are repeated to different persons, and the topography described in them is correct—all this proves that these letters are not mere dictional exercises but epistles from the fields of political and military action. They are valuable to the historian not only in giving the inner psychology of the man who was the mainstay of the Bahmani Kingdom during a large part of his sojourn in this land, but also in giving the actual dates and months of the occurrences which, when joined on to the years which we might know from other sources, can give a very accurate account of the succession of events in that remote era.

APPENDIX

List of headings of letters in the Riyadu'l-Insha

(According to the copy in the library of Nawwāb Sadr Yār Jang Bahādur at Habibganj, District Aligarh.)

Serial	Addressee	Folio.
	Introduction	1b
1.	Shaikh Sadru'd-dīn Rawāsī	9
2.	Maulānā Abdu'r-Rahmān Jāmī	11
3.	Khawājā 'Ubaidu'l-lāh el-Ahrār	13
4.	Sultān Abū Sa'īd Gūrgān	15b
5.	Sultān Muhammad II of Turkey	18b
6.	Sultan 'Alāu'd-dīn of Gilān	20
7.	" " " "	24
8.	One of the ministers	26
9.	His brother at Gilān	27b
10.	" " " "	30b
11.	Sharafu'd-dīn Alī el-Yezdī	34
12.	On behalf of Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī to Mahmūd Shāh of Gujrāt	37b
13.	Sultān Muhammad of Gilān	38b
14.	His brother	42b
15.	" " " "	45b
16.	'Āmidu'l-Mulk	47
17.	From his brother	49
18.	On behalf of Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī to Mahmūd Shāh of Gujrāt	51b
19.	Shaikh Dāwūd of Malwa	52b
20.	'Āmidu'l-Mulk	54
21.	To the Sultan of Gilān	54b
22.	His brother.	57b
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53	Sultan Ala'ud din of Gilan	101b
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55	Sultan Muhammad II of Turkey	106
56	Jahan Shah Lari	108
57	Maulana Abdur Rahman Jami	109b
58	Amdu l Mulk	111
59	One of the most learned of the time	112
60	Hadrat Murid in Abdullah	113
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67	His nephew Amdu l Mulk	125
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70	Qad Sharafuddin Sadr Jahan	127
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73	His nephew Amdu l Mulk	130
74	Shah Dawud of Mandu	130b
75	One of the Malwese ministers	131b
76	One of his friends	132
77	His son Alaf Khan	132b
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80	On behalf of Muhammad Shah Bahmani to Mahmud Shah of Gujrat	135
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82	Maulana Abu Sa'id	136b
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85	On behalf of Muhammad Shah Bahmani to Mahmud Khalifa of Malwa	141
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89	Qidī Sadr Jahān	146
90.	To a King	148
91	His son 'Alī Malikū't-Tayyār	151
92	" " " "	152b
93	A certain minister of Gilān	153
94	Khawājā Shamsu'd-dīn, Sahibī Diwān	154b
95	" " " " "	154b
96	" " " " "	155
97	Shaikh Mahmūd of Māndū	155b
98	One of the King's daughters	157
99	One of the ministers	158
100	Sultān 'Alāud'-dīn of Gilān	158b
101	One of the pious men	161b
102	Shaikh Bāyazīd el-Khalkhālī	163
103.	Sultān Muḥammad of Gilān	164b
104	One of the most learned of the Syeds	166b
105.	One of the ministers	167b
106.	One of the Syeds	169
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108.	Sultān 'Alī of Gilān	171
109	One of the Nobles	172b
110	'Amidu'l-Mulk	174b
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112.	Sultān Husain	176b
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114.	One of his relatives	178b
115	" " " "	179b
116.	On behalf of Muḥammad Shāh Bahmanī to Mahmūd Shāh of Gujrat	182b
117.	One of the ministers	182b
118.	" " " "	186
119	One of his sons	190b
120.	One of his friends	190
121.	Sultan Abu Sa'īd	190b
122	One of his relatives	192
123	One of the brothers	192b
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128.	" " " "	198b
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130.	One of the Sultāns	200b
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132.	The Sultān of Egypt	205b
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Serial	Addressee	Folio
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135	One of the Kings	209
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139	Maulanā Isma'īl.	212
140	One of the learned men	213
141	On behalf of Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī to Sultan Muhammad II of Turkey	214
142	Sultan Muhammad II of Turkey	215
143	One of his relatives	217
144		220
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HISTORY IN THE MAPS AND GOVERNMENT RECORDS RELATING TO THE ISLAND OF SERINGAPATAM

[By Dr. K. N. Venkatasubba Sastri, M. A., Ph. D. (London), F. R. Hist. S.]

INTRODUCTION

The writer of this paper discovered a map of Seringapatam dated 1775 in 1939 at Bombay after the closing of the Indian Historical Records Commission Session at Poona. This map differed entirely from all other maps of the island known so far and attracted the attention of the Mysore Palace and Government when it was known to them. Photographic copies were immediately made and distributed among the Palace, the Government and the Mysore University libraries. This map is, as things are, the earliest of all the available ones and belongs to a time when Tipu was yet his father's son.

There is also another map in the author's possession which is rather rare. It belongs to 1885 and was reproduced in 1897. It is also very reliable.

A number of maps of Seringapatam have been published lately, that of 1937 published in outline by the Government of Mysore being the latest. It may be stated at once that all of them differ little materially from one another and belong to a type.

It is proposed to compare the three maps of 1775, 1885 and 1937 and draw a few conclusions.

Secondly, the island of Seringapatam has always been financially a losing concern. Although there is no current interest in the subject, it is yet relevant to show with the aid of detailed figures that the huge loss to the Government of Mysore on account of this land was cheerfully borne. Correspondence on the affairs of Seringapatam have been published and are open to students of history. But actual figures of annual losses for several years before 1861 are not available.

It is proposed also to give out these figures.

The author hopes finally to interpret all these separate and different conclusions and draw a few general propositions in the manner of throwing some new light on the history of the island of Seringapatam.

History in the maps

The map of 1775 shows a number of pagodas, Brahman tanks, forts, bridges and palaces. The fortification of the town appears to be perfect under the management of Tipu. The ground is a spot known as Dariya Do, a battery which it means to serve. The sally ports are clearly marked, one exclusively used by the Brahmans.

The map of 1885 contains the Great Mosque in place of the Little Tank of the Delhi (or Agrahara) bridge or the old Periyal palace and the garden of the Hindu Kings or nor any sign of Nanjaraj's house and temple. The Elephant Gate, Dariya Daulat and Gumbuz, a miserable patch of a town known as Ganjam with the Catholic Church of the Abbe Dubois, heaps of monuments for the dead, and a Breach at the

north western angle of the fort are the features of this map. In addition to these, there are references to the De Havilland's Arch, Wellesley Bridge, Scott's Bungalow and other tit bits. There is a town called French Rocks in the neighbourhood.

The map of 1937 adds a Memorial Hall, a Coronation Building, a Bathing Ghat, a Travellers' Bungalow, and a Railway station.

Putting all these facts together, the following four conclusions become inevitable —

- (1) In spite of all that has happened, Seringapatam continues to be a centre of Vaishnavite Brahmanism.
- (2) The Hindu sovereigns of Mysore were illustrious in their adherence to the ideal of dharma.
- (3) Hyder was fond of gardening which his son developed.
- (4) Tipu Sultan must have been a very impulsive person.

Perhaps every one of these statements requires argument —

- (1) It is worthy of notice that the place is still called Sri Ranga pattana. The temple of Ranganatha is prominent. The religious head of Melkote still governs the pandits of the place. The ancient Rajas of Mysore professed Vaishnavism from the time of their arrival at Seringapatam and are still affiliated to it. Islam and Christianity have no roots here and the Great Mosque itself was built on the foundation of a Hanuman temple in the crowded or populous side of the town.
- (2) Even a casual visitor to the island will note the numerous public works of and the utter absence of pomp and glamour in the ancient and modern Rajas of Mysore. Water was supplied to the island by a channel known as the Bangara Doddi canal. For heavy traffic there were three bridges across the Kaveri, the one in the north known as Agrahara bridge and the others in the south by the name of Old and New Periapatna bridges. The Brahmins had their own gates and tanks. Private worshipping was allowed. In the temple of Narasimha the king who built it stands as a humble servant before the god. In the nineteenth century a special reservoir, a new set of kalasas or pinnacles and a renovated tower were given by the Rajas to Ranganatha temple seeing that the Narasimhaswami temple had fallen on evil days. More recently a new bathing ghat, a rest house and numerous amenities were provided for the pilgrims. It may be relevant to add that the Rajas of Mysore have left marks of affection towards the British in the Scott's Bungalow (built by and for the Maharaja but occupied and left vacant in memory of one Col Scott), the Wellesley Bridge and the Coronation Hall.
- (3) Thirdly, Hyder's problem of the island was the proper utilisation of the vacant ground to the extent of several square miles beyond the Bangalore Gate. He created a garden almost in front of this and a civil station known as Ganjam at a distance of a furlong further on. The remainder of the island was filled by his son with a Lal Bagh and a Mausoleum. The land along the southern branch of the Kaveri was considered, as in Benares not auspicious enough for good acts and it was therefore converted from Paschimavahini to the Gumbaz into a purificatory area or burial and cremation ground. It is a point to notice that the fort proper contains no monument of cultural

importance belonging to Hyder and Tipu's days. Not even the plan of Seringapatam town was altered by them, the present main roads crossing then as now at right angles and dividing it into four quarters. The influence of Versailles was so perfect that the suburb received all the attention while the city had none.

This is easily explained otherwise. Tipu appears to have been deeply interested in military science and art. The maps point to many an example of his defensive works. Construction of inner walls and trenches, the drawbridge at the Bangalore Gate, the south eastern cavalier and battery, the Elephant Gate, the increased number of powder magazines and prison houses and vaults, and the flag staff cavalier are instances to the point. The treaty of 1792 helped only to force more blood into Tipu's head and make him think more vigorously about military affairs and foreign policy.

- (4) Taking only the monuments into consideration, Tipu differed from Hyder entirely in his personal character. The so called Sabal Ram Tittu is a magnification of an ever present, universal inexorable theme which being extremely small, only the blind will see. There is no sense of humour associated with it. The Great Mosque is a great mosque, but the site was not wisely chosen. The Raja's palace was levelled to the ground and its decorations were transferred to Tipu's palace. This was an act of gross provocation which led directly to retaliation in the hands of the British immediately after his fall. The little tank reserved for the Brahmans was cleverly converted into a shell proof shelter, but it need not have been further converted into a dungeon for the British prisoners. Tipu added a Nagar Khana to the temple of Ranganatha but he built it on the top of the Utsava-mantapa. He removed the tower (gopuram) of Narasimha temple and carried out a few of executions within it. But destruction of that temple would have proved better than defilement both to his own reputation and to the popularity of that institution. Conviction is inevitable that by all these acts Tipu behaved in day to day matters more on impulses than on reason and judgment.

History in the Government Records

The following are figures relating to the loss incurred by the Mysore Government on account of the renting of Seringapatam —

Rent—Rs 50 000

	C P	8 376 6 3
1831 30		
1832 33		not known
1833 34	"	7 904 6 10½
1834 35	"	8 227 3 10½
1835 36	"	7 946 7 15½
1836 37	"	7 946 7 15½
1837 38		9 447 1 13
1838 39	"	8 763 4 6
1839 40	"	7 665 6 4½
1840 41	"	8 259 9 8½
1841 42		9 551 8 ½
1842 43	"	9 469 7 1½
1843 44	"	8 861 9 2½
1844 45	"	9 197 0 6½
1845 46	"	9 852 6 15
1846 47	"	9 647 3 6½

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Rent—Rs 50 000

1831 32	C P	8,376	6	3
1832 33	,			not known
1833 34	"	7,904	6	10½
1834 35	"	8,227	3	10½
1835 36	"	7,946	7	15½
1836 37	"	7,946	7	15½
1837 38	"	9,447	1	13
1838 39	"	8,763	4	6
1839 40	"	7,665	6	4½
1840 41	"	8,259	9	8½
1841 42	"	9,551	8	½
1842 43	"	9,469	7	1½
1843 44	"	8,861	9	2½
1844 45	"	9,197	0	6½
1845 46	"	9,852	6	15
1846 47	"	9,647	3	6½

1847 48	C P	10 9/11	3	6½
1848 49	"	10 304	7	9½
1849 50	"	10 032	0	7½
1850 51	"	10 052	7	10½
1851 52	"	11 192	1	13½
1852 53	"	11,763	2	2½
1853 54	Rs	20 780	2	4
1854 55	"	34 054	4	4
1855 56	"	36 540	8	4
1856 57	"	35 134	6	3
1857 58	"	32 8½	1	2

It will be noticed that in twenty seven years out of Rs 13 5 lakhs due to the British Government Rs 7 6 lakhs was paid by Mysore out of her other resources Bowring said that for forty years from 1829 Mysore had realised only Rs 8 8 lakhs but paid about Rs 20 lakhs

General Conclusions

The first historical fact about the island is that Nature did not mean it to be either the Capital of an Empire or a strong Fortress against enemies. It is just a centre of pilgrimage to the Hindus.

Political revolutions and treachery because life was as in a city state
 bilious character of its climate
 should have aroused jealousy much quicker here than in any other place. The change of capital therefore after 1799 to Mysore was not only a source of power and prestige to the ancient dynasty but the foundation of its better days in the nineteenth century and after. Seringapatam signifies bad luck and loss.

A third point to note in the history of the island is that economically it is a burden to the state. The income and expenditure cannot be balanced. As the climate is extremely insalubrious neither agriculture nor industry and commerce can be improved. Gardening is a possibility from the historical point of view. But this is not a highly paying business.

The final impression left by the history of the place is that it has no future whatever. After a lapse of another twenty five years the interest indicated by the visiting political historians or tourists will decline still further. Only the military historian of India will find an attraction to the place but even he will ignore it after his work will be over.

TWO MARATHI DOCUMENTS FROM MYSORE

[By Dr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D.Litt. and Mr. V. Raghavendra Rao M.A., B.T.]

DOCUMENT I

PARTITION DEED BETWEEN YESHWANT RAO HOLKAR AND DOULAT RAO SINDHIA

This letter was found in the Mysore Government Secretariat at Bangalore, among the bundles of papers sent thither a few years ago by the British Residency at Bangalore Cantonment.

The seals and signatures of the contracting parties are not found in it nor is the date of the document given. But the paper is brown with age and the Marathi writing is presumably contemporary. Probably the document is a secret copy of the original deed.

If corroborated by evidence elsewhere this document would be of importance. It shows that the two greatest rivals for power in Maharashtra also tried to come to a common understanding for mutual benefit and also to maintain the integrity of the Maratha Confederation. At one time even after the death of the Mahadaji Sindhia, his successors saw the need for united action and mutual conciliation.

In this valuable document Raghaji Bhonsle is found acting as the mediator between Sindhia and Holkar for the common good of the Maratha Confederacy and maintenance of Hindu Dharma. A translation is given below of the contents of the document.

Translation

First settlement was effected at Nagapur by Sri Yadava Rao Bhaskar Holkar was dissatisfied with it. The problem was the division of territories worth one crore sixty lakhs and Rs 18 341 and 2½ As (Rs 1 60 18 341 2½).

Again Raghaji Bhonsle intervened for the sake of the integrity of the Peshwa's Government and gave his decision thus —

A copy of this must be sent to the relations of Khande Rao Holkar.

2 Territories handed over to the Pant Pradhan are to be divided again and given over to Khande Rao Holkar.

3 Territories cheated in Desh Malwa and Hindustan are to be released and levies of tribute returned. The documents of restoration are to be handed over to the Bhonsle Raja. Mutual losses must be written off.

4 Khasi Rao Holkar must be handed over and the documents given to him are also to be returned.

5 Annual tributes from subordinate rajas must continue as in the days of Ranaji Bava Sindhia and they should be distributed as in his days impartially.

6 The grants of money from the Emperor and the territories obtained in lieu thereof are to be divided impartially.

7 The division of such lands shall be done by the Bhonsle. The expenses of partition must be borne by both.

8 This settlement must be reported to the Peshwa for his final approval.

9 The division of territories by revered father Madhaji Sindhia has not been maintained. The conquered territories were usually divided among both of us after deducting the expenses. The same principle must be continued.

10 All misunderstandings with the Pant Pradhan should be cleared and both should live in friendship

11 The conquered territories are to be divided between us and supervised by both of us

12 We must both control Delhi, the Vazirath enjoyed by the Peshwa till now, must be exercised by one of us, with Agra as our headquarters

13 All of us must follow Hindu Dharma The honour of the Peshwa Scimant Pant Pradhan must be maintained unimpaired

DOCUMENT II

A news letter found in Yashwant Rao Holkar's camp at Aurangabad 19th Moharam Tuesday

In this letter also no signature is found, but there is no reason to doubt that it is a genuine contemporary copy of the original document

The events mentioned in this letter must have taken place after the Nizam entered into the subsidiary alliance in order to save himself from the constant attacks of the Marathas The latter felt that they were balked of their prey and intended marching on Hyderabad to collect the annual tribute to the Maratha State To escape this the Nizam welcomed the British alliance

CONTENTS OF DOCUMENT II

1 Sindhia is reported to have come to Bushanpur Yeshwant Rao's letters also were received in the camp

During the march, Sindhia's lands are not to be harassed

2 Bhonsle of Nagapur has come near His army is led by Vithal Pant Subedhar and is camping at Wardha

3 The Moghul army (Nizam) under Joraawar Khan and Subhan Khan is camped above the ghat another section is about to march on Poona

4 Holkar, Sindhia and Bhonsle must meet in a friendly manner on the bank of the Ganges This is the desire of Yeshwant Rao If the other two agree, all should combine and march on Hyderabad

5 A secret mission from the Moghul has been received by Yeshwant Rao. *But it must be for the good of all the three Even if a crore or two is necessary, that must be spent This is the immediate need of the State*

THE NAVY OF THE GAEKWARS

(By Mr. R. K. Ranadive, M A)

I am reading this paper at the suggestion of our learned Secretary, Dr Sen. When he was here in August last, he pointed out that very little was known about the navy of the Gaekwars and that it was necessary that research students should have more information on the subject. The information available is indeed scanty and has to be collected from different sources. Such as the available information is, is presented in this paper for the information of scholars in a more or less chronological order.

2 We are obliged to Dr Sen for giving us a lucid account of the naval system of the Marathas in his work on the Military System of the Marathas. His chapters on the beginning of the Maratha Navy and on Piracy or Sovereignty of the sea are especially illuminating. He points out that one of the reasons which induced Shiwaji Chatrapati to establish a navy was the necessity of checking the Siddis of Danda Rajpuri or Janjira. He speaks of the purpose of the Maratha Navy established by Shiwaji in these words —

“Prudence dictated and foresight suggested that he (Shiwaji) should equip a fighting fleet of his own to protect his people, to punish his enemies, to provide for the prosperity of his ports and to secure for himself and his subjects a share of the maritime trade. It was not his aim to secure the freedom of the sea against the world, He was quite content to share the sovereignty with his neighbours” (1)

The Siddis were powerful not only at Janjira but also at Surat where they were the admirals of the Moghul fleet stationed there and as Dr Sen points out on the authority of Khafikhan, Shiwaji had early seized the ports of Jiwal, Pabal and others near Surat (2). These places are not easily identifiable and we do not know whether any part of the Maratha fleet was stationed near Surat in Shiwaji's time or in the time of his successors. But we find definite mention of a Maratha fleet near Surat in the records of about 1730. In the historical account of Surat in the Bombay Gazetteer, Vol II, it is stated that since the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign (1661) the post of the admiral of the Moghul fleet had been held by the Siddis of Janjira but that “of late years (i.e. about 1734) the power of the Siddis had declined, and that their fleet had shown itself no match for the Maratha fleet and they were even now by their own confession unable to protect the shipping of Surat” (3).

3 The position at Surat at this time was this. In 1719, Pilajirao Gaekwar established his headquarters at the Fort of Songadh. This fort was situated in the limits of what was then known as the Sarkar of Surat, and from here Pilajirao's conquests extended northwards. By 1730, he had deprived the Moghuls of all the territories north and south of Surat comprised in this
“ad
place
“h its
rrior
there used to be the commandant of the castle and admiral of the Moghul fleet

(1) The Military system of the Marathas p 175

(2) Ibid p 176

(3) Bombay Gazetteer Vol II, p 118

(4) Mirat-i-Ahmedi supplement English translation by Seddon and Nawab Ali, pp 187 88 and 201

appointed by the Court of Delhi. The author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmedi* states that the Surat Sarkar had 31 divisions—paraganas or mahals (districts) and ports. He has given a list of these 31 divisions. The city of Surat was reckoned as one division and outside the city there were 28 paraganas also called mahals which were known locally as Surat Athavishi which translated means the 28 paraganas under Surat. The major ports were two—Broach and Surat (Suah). Under the port of Surat were certain minor ports—these were Jahlpur, Parchol, Bul-ar, Navari, Maroli, Gandevi (Billimora), Chikhli and Sarbhon all to the south of Surat. They were all conquered by Pilajirao by 1730.

4 In 1733 Teg Bahkt Khan became the Governor of Surat and assumed the title of Nawab. His authority was confined to the city of Surat and no territory beyond its walls had been left to him. Though he had gone through the form of appointment by the Delhi Court he was from the first independent. The old division of power between the Governor of the town and the Commandant of the castle had ceased. On his accession to power, Teg Bahkt Khan found his revenues insufficient for his wants. To improve the state of his finances he adopted three courses (1) he made an arrangement with Pilajirao's successor Damajirao Gaekwar for a share in the revenues derived from the districts once under Surat, (2) he attempted to evade the payment of the subsidy to the Siddi Admiral of the fleet and (3) he imposed new taxes on the trade of Surat which was then in the hands of the English and the Dutch East India Companies. Teg Bahkt Khan was not in a position to oust Damajirao from the mahals of the Surat Athavishi. He accordingly entered into negotiations with him and an agreement was concluded in 1734 under which on the promise of an yearly assignment of Rs. 2,36,000 in his favour, Teg Bahkt Khan engaged to allow Damajirao to hold the districts and exercise authority in them. In his attempt to keep for himself a part of the subsidy due to the Siddi, Teg Bahkt Khan was helped by a contest between the English and the Siddi for the post of Admiral. As already stated the power of the Siddis had at this time entirely declined and his fleet had ceased to be a match for the Maratha fleet. Under these circumstances the English were endeavouring from time to time after the revenue settlement between the Nawab and the Gaekwar to obtain for themselves the position and revenue of the Admirals at Surat. The Siddi was however their ally and an ally whom in the growing power of the Marathas they could ill afford to offend. Hence they were unwilling for a time to attempt to gain the position by force. The failure of the negotiations from time to time caused a mutual dislike in the mind of Teg Bahkt Khan and his successors on the one hand and the English on the other (5).

5 The above narrative is taken from the Surat Gazetteer and the references in it are to "The Maratha Fleet". This is natural as Shahu Chhatrapati was then living and Damajirao was representing him as the deputy of the Senapati. There is no doubt however that the fleet mentioned was under the control of Damajirao Gaekwar. In the *Bharatvarsha Shakaval* we find a letter dated 5th July 1733 (6) from Raja Shahu to Umabai Dabhade and Damajirao Gaekwar informing them that Shahu had undertaken a campaign against Janjira and that help was being sent to the Siddi there by Siddi Masud of Surat, and asking them to intercept Siddi Masud's forces and prevent them from joining those of the Siddi at Janjira. There is another letter dated 22nd August 1733 (7) from Shahu Chhatrapati to Damajirao on the same subject, again directing him to see that Siddi Masud was not able to send any assistance to the besieged at Janjira or Anjanwel. These letters make it quite clear that the fleet near Surat was under the control of

(5) Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. II, pp. 116 to 118.

(6) Reprinted at p. 17 of the Baroda Historical Selections.

(7) Itihas Sangraha Atithatik Tipane—reprinted at p. 17 of Baroda Historical Selections.

Damajirao Gaekwar It is true that there is no reference in them to any fleet as such, but the only means of preventing Siddi Masud from helping his kinsman at Janjira was by checking him with the help of a fleet near Surat. Besides for maintaining his hold on the districts south and north of Surat Damajirao must have found it necessary to have a fleet of his own. In a letter written in 1735-36 to the Surat authorities (8) about his claim to Chauth in Surat Shahu says the land customs round about Surat was under Damaji and the sovereignty of the sea vested in him (Shahu) (जनार्ण दवा सकरवा भवन). In the history of the Maratha campaign against Bassem in 1739, recently published by Mr V. N. Kelkar there is mention (9) of a

Gaekwar I refer to the documents from the Bombay records published by Father Gense and Dr. Banaji under the caption 'Damaji's fleet' (10). The Surat factors had received a proposal from

will of his master as appears to be suggested. What is relevant here is that the Maratha fleet near Surat referred to in the earlier records was none other than the fleet under the control of the Gaekwar stationed at Billimora a port about forty miles south of Surat formerly included in the Sarkar of Surat and conquered by the Pilajirao Gaekwar some time between 1719 and 1730.

6 To resume the history of Surat Teg Bahkt Khan died in 1746 and next year his successor Mai Uddin Khan ceded one fourth share of the revenues of the city and port of Surat to Damajirao Gaekwar in return for his assistance. Vakharkhin, the son of his rival Safdar Khan subsequently increased this share to half. Finally, in 1751 when Safdar Khan succeeded in resuming charge of the city he made a compromise with Damajirao that one third of the revenues instead of one half should in future be paid to him (11).

7 Next year i.e. in 1752, Damajirao came to an agreement with the Peshwa by which he divided his acquisitions in Gujerat equally between himself and the Peshwa. There is on the records of the Baroda State a document of great historical value—the summary of the partition of Gujerat prepared by Haripant Phadke, the Minister of the Peshwa in 1768 (12). (This is a copy obtained from the Poona Records in 1811 A.D.) From the portion of the summary dealing with the 'thavishi', we learn that the Moglaj and the Peshwa were called Swaraj. The assignments were both in the Parganas transferred to the Peshwa and in those retained by the Gaekwar. The total Moglaj in the Peshwa's parganas was Rs. 80,000 and that from Gaekwar's Mahal was Rs. 1,60,000. The summary of the partition shows that the customs of all the parganas on the seaboard south of Surat whether in the share of the Gaekwar

(8) Life of Brahmendra Swami by Parasnis, reprinted at p. 18 of the Baroda Historical Selections.

(9) Part II p. 143.

(10) The Gaekwads of Baroda, Vol. I, pp. 70 et seq.

(11) Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. II, pp. 123 and 124.

(12) Unpublished State Records.

or in the share of the Peshwa were assigned to the Peshwa and the Gaekwar retained the customs of the Surat Athavishi Mahals north of Surat and of the inland Mahals south of Surat. The one third share of the city of Surat was also equally divided between the Peshwa and the Gaekwar. The navy is naturally not mentioned in the partition as the partition related to territories and funds and not to military resources. From Damajirao's account of the revenues and expenses of his territories for the years 1752-1754 which is extant on the Baroda Records, it is however clear that the naval establishment was retained by the Gaekwar⁽¹²⁾. It is known from other evidence that the Peshwa did not maintain any fleet on this sea board. In the Surat Sarkar under the Moghuls there was division of jurisdiction in matters of customs or Jakat and Admiralty rights which were the concern of the Mir i Bahar or the Admiralty the Gaekwad

led to some conflict between the Gaekwad's and Peshwa's officers who had concurrent authority in the same area whether territorially belonging to the Peshwa or the Gaekwad.

8. The authority of the East India Company in the administration of the city of

Gazetteer to have been that the Siddis people had insulted some Englishmen and refused redress that the Siddi had proved himself unfit for his post as admiral being unable to hold his own against the Maratha fleet. The Company's representatives information of the rights thus acquired by a Moghul Emperor at Surat was then by Sir G. W. Forrest at pp. 102-108 of his selections from the letters, despatches and other state papers preserved in the Bombay Secretariat (Home Series Vol. II) will show how the Chief of Surat was authorised by his superiors in Bombay to spend upto Rs. 40,000 to obtain the necessary documents from the court of Delhi and how when they arrived a parade was held and a salute fired to receive them. This was in August 1759. They then approached Damajirao Gaekwar to recognise the company as the commander of the fleet and to pay the Moghul assignments to them instead of to the Nawab or to the Siddis as before. Damajirao was then at Poona and the President and factors of Bombay instructed the ambassador who was then being sent there in August 1759 to see

him and represented to him that as the Hon'ble Company had taken possession of Surat castle and there were some revenues annexed to it and for maintaining the fleet which lay in the country under his command he should issue orders for the Company's people collecting them and that as the Company were now become neighbours interested in the welfare of the country round about Surat he should also by way of friendship issue orders to the commander of his fleet not to molest any vessels trading under the Hon'ble Company's protection. Damajirao readily

mutual protection of the shipping of their respective territories (Articles XI and XII of the treaty of Salbai)

(12) Baroda Historical Selections p. 66

(13) Selections from the State papers etc. preserved in the Bombay Secretariat by S. R. G. W. Forrest pp. 135 and 137

9 The of
Surat may be
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eliminated and this removed a constant source of conflict. The authority in Surat and roundabout was now vested in four parties—the Navab, the English and the two Maratha Governments who were in view of the manner in which their rights originated styled the Chauthias. There was necessity for harmony and good will between all of them and there is evidence that such harmony and good will

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This could only be achieved if there was an arrangement between the Governments concerned to respect each other's passports. Such an arrangement was attained in 1759 by the orders which Damajirao issued to the commanders of his fleet not to molest vessels trading under the Company's protection. Reciprocity was naturally granted and that is why we do not hear much of the Gaekwad's fleet after the arrangements made in 1759.

10 We do not hear of any warlike operations either undertaken by the fleet. Any such operations which the fleet may have taken part in were confined to the period from 1730 to 1759 but there is no record in history of these. We know only of the result namely that the Siddis fleet at Surat ceased to be a match for the Gaekwad's fleet. Perhaps the last of any warlike naval incidents was that indicated by a letter dated 10th October 1759 from Damajirao to the Peishwa Balaji Bajirao published in the *Kavyetihas Sangraha* (15). The Peishwa had informed him that he was engaged against Janjira and that it was reported that the pirates and the authorities at Jafirabad were loading men in ships in order to send assistance to relieve Janjira and requested him to prevent this aid from reaching its destination. Damajirao assured the Peishwa that such aid would be effectively prevented.

11 On the Baroda Records we have accounts dating from about 1795 to about 1875 of the Naval Establishment—Bunder Billimora Suba Armar. The system that we see from these accounts was that passports were issued and convoys were provided for the protection of the shipping of the area and for this purpose the armed vessels used to be kept in a fit condition. The accounts show that admiralty jurisdiction of the Baroda fleet extended over the whole strip of the coast and on the high sea south of Surat upto Bulsad. It will be recalled that here the Peishwa's officers had the whole jurisdiction in regard to Jakat—land and sea customs and salt—but no admiralty jurisdiction. In dealing with ships distinction was made between "kowli" and "be kowli" ships i.e. those with and those without proper passports. The right to challenge vessels which met the convoys or cruising vessels was exercised and those with proper passports were not molested. The vessels

treated as 'be kowli' were mostly from Portuguese India. The names of the dues recovered were —

- 1 Kol or pass fee paid on leaving with cargo
- 2 Wallawa or convoy fee
- 3 Chaoni or fee for beaching in the monsoon also called Baithak
- 4 Avria or Avardi
- 5 Hudiuj
- 6 Karkoon fees for
- 7 Bhet or presents
- 8 Fag—a small fee paid during the Holi festival

12 Some difficulty appears to have arisen owing to the divided jurisdiction in the coastal area south of Surat already referred to. As Dr Sen points out that the custom about appropriation of wrecks in India at the time was not definite. The Peshwa's officers often mistook the rights for one of the customs jurisdiction while the Gaekwad's officers maintained that it was an admiralty right subject to the claims of proprietors of vessels to have the wreckages restored if proved to belong to them. Two such instances may be mentioned from the State records. In 1791 a vessel belonging to a merchant of Billimora was going to Bombay and was looted by the Peshwa's commander in his limits. The Baroda Government wrote to the Peshwa's Sar Suba to hand over the vessel and the goods to the State officer at Billimora (16). To this latter officer also instructions were simultaneously sent to hand over the vessel and the goods to the merchant or to compensate him for his loss.

13 In 1792 we find another letter (17) of the Baroda Government to the Kamavisdar of Bunder Billimora asking him to ascertain the custom as to the appropriation of goods from a vessel wrecked—whether the wreckage and the goods belonged to the authorities of the port in the limits of which the vessel was wrecked or to the port from which the vessel hailed—and to dispose of the particular case which called forth the letter according to the approved custom.

14 Another instance which occurred in 1802 is also interesting. I translate the extract relating to it from the Accounts (18)

"Last year, i.e., in the Arabic year 1203, i.e. (from June 1802 to 1803) a ship carrying cotton and belonging to a Parsee Mr Navroji Manekji inhabitant of Surat, bound from Surat for Bombay, was wrecked on account of tempest, off Mewase harbour, and consequently salt water entered it. It is true that Mewase Bunder (19) lies in the limits of Billimora Bunder, but in view of the long standing dispute about it, the Kamavisdar of Parchol of the Pant Pradhan (the Peshwa) took away the contents of the ship. The empty ship was burnt by Kamavisdar Laxman Janardan of the said harbour who collected the iron from it which weighed 10 maunds (Katcha). Then the said Parsee approached the Company Bahadur, obtained a letter from them and brought it before the Government. In compliance with the

(16) Baroda Historical Selections, p. 320

(17) Baroda Historical Selections p. 347

(18) Account for 1803-04

(19) Billimora itself is situated about fifteen miles inland on the Ambika river. On the sea coast there is a small harbour called Mewase which is a sub port of Billimora.

Company's request the compensation due to the Parsee in lieu of the burnt ship amounted to —

Rs 1,000—from the Revenue

Rs 300—from the amounts other than Revenues

Rs 1,300—(Total)

15 The divided authority in the city of Surat ceased in 1802. Two years later the British Government entered into a treaty with the Nawab of the Nawab's authority in the city on plus 1/5th of the net revenues. In 1802 when relations of intimate friendship were established between the Gaekwad and the English, the former ceded to the latter his share of the revenues of Surat and the Mahals of Chorasi (the paraganah surrounding the city) and Chikh. In the same year by the treaty of Bassein the Peishwa ceded to the East India Company his share in the city with all his rights and territories south of the Tapti including the Customs revenues of the area on the sea board. Only the Gaekwad's admiralty rights in the Gaekwad's territory and in what now became British territory—Bundar Billimora Suba Armar—remained and their exercise by the Gaekwad continued uninterrupted.

16 By this time piracy in the region round about Surat had ceased and the fleet appears to have automatically lapsed into inactivity though till a late period the armar cesses referred to above recovered on account of the protection given by the fleet continued to be levied. About 1845 some merchants from British India objected to their levy especially in British limits but the Surat authorities reported to the Government of Bombay that—

“the Gaekwar was justified in taking his rights extended over all the rivers accessible from the sea by rivers ***” “They are of the nature of Admiralty Rights and were probably usurped by the Marathas at some former period from the Emperors of Delhi prior to A D 1759, when the Surat Castle with the command of the Moghul Fleet, was ceded to the Hon ble Company.”

17 Though by the beginning of the nineteenth century piracy in the Surat region was no longer the British nor in Kathiawad.

under Col Walker, Resident at Baroda he obtained bonds from the Chiefs of Olha mandal and from the maritime States of Kathiawad renouncing piracy. In 1813 the Baroda Government acquired the parganah of Kodinar in which the port of Velan was situated. Here they established (20) a small fleet of four frigates with 12

Captain Grant once while proceeding from Velan to Amreli was subjected to privations in the Gir forest by the Kathi outlaws and probably never recovered from the effects of what he suffered. The accounts show that this fleet ceased to be in existence after 1830.

(20) Baroda Historical Selections, pp 695 and 769

THE BOARD OF CONTROL.

[By. Dr. Prakash Chandra, M A., LL.B., Ph.D. (London), F R H.S.].

As is well known, the Government of India Act 1784, established a dual Government in London for the administration of India. Till that date the administration had been wholly in the hands of the Court of Directors. No doubt on some important occasions Parliament had intervened to criticise the conduct of the East India Company and claimed the right to supervise and regulate their affairs, but it was for the first time that in 1784 regular machinery was set up for this purpose. The day to day administration and the power of initiative were left in the hands of the Company⁽¹⁾, but a Board of Commissioners was appointed to 'superintend, direct and control all acts, operations, and concerns which in any way relate to the civil or military government or revenues of the British territorial possessions in the East Indies. In order that this body might discharge their function with adequacy and efficiency, it was laid down that all despatches received from India and those intended for that country should be submitted to them for their information and approval, and they were empowered to issue orders in relation to them which the Directors were called upon to obey.

How this system actually worked out in practice forms one of the most interesting and fruitful subjects of study. The ordinary text books of Indian History do not treat of it because apparently it had no direct bearing on historical events. But the scheme repays study as a fine example of the way in which in politics compromise proves to be a better method than down-right insistence on principles however laudable. It is interesting also from another point of view. It just shows how any system of Government with all its illogicality and absurdity can be made to work by human ingenuity.

That the double Government inaugurated in 1784 was defective in the extreme cannot be denied. There was little in common between the Directors and the Board who were to share between them the direction and control of Indian policy. The aim of the Directors was a perpetuation of the Company's trade monopoly and large commercial profits; that of the Minister the consolidation and extension of British rule in India and its final absorption in the British Empire.

The causes of conflict between the two were numerous. The Act vested all civil and military appointments without any reservation in the hands of the Directors. But their recall and supervision was a privilege of the Board. Further from the start the Board attempted to have an effective say in the higher appointments, i.e. of the Governor General, the Governors and the *Commanders in Chief*. The Directors true to type were disposed to pay their servants meagre emoluments while the Ministers desirous of having a contented and honest civil service were anxious to see them handsomely rewarded. The Directors were definitely and unequivocally opposed to all wars of aggression as they wiped off all their dividends and lent reality to the nightmare of their

(1) Mill and Wilson in their History have expressed a contrary but wholly erroneous opinion. Their contention that, the real the sole governing power of India is the Board of Control, and it makes use of the Court of Directors as an instrument, is not borne out by hard facts. Sir J. W. Kaye fell into the same error.

being supplanted by the Crown while the Board for this very reason were willing to give their support to any Governor General who promised to bring glory to the British arms. To make matters worse there were two armies in India, the Company's and the King's and the Directors suspected not without reason of the Board being partial to the latter.

My purpose in the present article however is not to describe these disputes⁽²⁾ but to give a brief account of the way in which the cumbersome machinery operated and how its evil effects were in a large measure avoided.

The Act laid down that the despatches which were forwarded by the Directors for the approval of the Board should be returned within 14 days. The period was found too short to enable the Board carefully to peruse the contents and to make alterations the more so as the Directors often sent a number of voluminous despatches together. To tide over this difficulty the system of Previous Communications was invented. As soon as a despatch arrived from India a reply to it was prepared by the Directors who then informally sent it over to the Board accompanied by all the relevant papers, technically called the Collection. At the Board's office it was carefully gone through by the staff at their convenience and then submitted to the President who made any corrections he liked in red ink. These alterations were on some occasions very extensive indeed. The draft reply went back to the Directors looking very much like a school boy's note book which had been corrected by some conscientious and diligent examiner. The draft was returned with a short letter enumerating the numbers of paragraphs in which changes had been made but without assigning any reasons. It was open at this stage for the Chairman of the Court of Directors either to accept the suggestions or to ignore them. A fresh draft was then prepared which after having been passed by the appropriate Committee and the Court of Directors as a whole was formally sent to the Board. If the Board found that any of their suggestions had not been adopted but which they considered to be of sufficient importance to press they could be re-incorporated but now reasons had to be stated in full. The ground having been already prepared, this could be done within the time limit prescribed by law. The practice was found so useful that even when the Act of 1813 extended the period to two months it was retained.

The utility of 'Previous Communications' was thus described by Canning. 'The use and object of Previous Communication is free discussion. They are amiable preludes to further propositions which enable the Board to state its objections (when it has any) and to offer its amendments and additions without assuming the air of dictation and through which each party becomes acquainted with the others' sentiments without being committed in point of consistency and indignity to it own. The official draft being thus prepared with a free knowledge how far it is likely to meet the concurrence of the Board the best chance is taken for avoiding direct and official collision⁽³⁾. In an interesting letter to the Board in 1813 the Directors insisted that the Previous Communications were purely informal and that alterations could be subsequently made by both the parties adding in point of fact such alterations

(2) I have described some of them in the following journals: Journal of Indian History Dec 1933 and August 1936. Indian Historical Quarterly September 1934 and September 1936 and the Calcutta Review May 1934 and July 1935.

(3) Proceedings of the Select Committee of 1832 p. 23.

have frequently been made by both even after their approval by Previous Communication (4) The statement however is not true Many of the official drafts returned from the Board's office without any trace of their interference while in some cases the changes were merely verbal without much significance

Apart from this there were talks between the Chairman of the Court of Directors and the President of the Board of Control The correspondence of Henry Dundas the first wholetime President contains many letters to David Scott Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Court by turns, couched in a style of the utmost cordiality inviting him to his office in Whitehall or to his home with a view to discussing the Company's affairs with him(5) In a very touching letter he lamented that he was very ill I shall however, be glad to see you when you please and if I am not able to hold conversation by speech I must do it by my pen The practice initiated by Dundas was adhered to by his successors and it was at these meetings that the question of appointment of a new Governor General or Governor was first mooted On important occasions the President of the Board had by his side the Prime Minister, while the Directors were represented by members of the Committee of Correspondence

These meetings were probably held weekly Under date, November 9, 1818 occurs the following interesting entry in Farington's Diary 'Mr Marjoribanks being Deputy Chairman of the East India Company told me that the Chairman and Deputy Chairman for the time being have a weekly meeting with the President of the Board of Control (now Mr Canning) at which they make their respective reports and amicably arrange matters for future proceedings (6) It is a pity that no record of such talks was ever kept for it must have been here that differences between the Directors and the Board first made their appearance and were finally composed

Another factor of adjustment was furnished by the relationship in which the Governor General and the Governors stood to the rival authorities Though formally appointed by the Directors and under their control they owed their selection to the Ministers whose friends they were Before setting out for India they took care to meet the Chairman of the Company and also the India Minister and the occasion was utilised for reviewing the general situation in India In this way they became familiar with the points of view of both and if they were wise they could follow a course of conduct calculated to secure the approval of both Once in India they received private letters from the President of the Board and official despatches from the Court of Directors or its Secret Committee On the other hand they in their turn frequently wrote to the President and indeed were encouraged to do so It is curious how ever that the practice of the Governors writing privately to the Chairman on public matters was frowned upon by the Board (7)

Fourthly the fact that several of the Directors were members of the House of Commons and could also exert influence in the House of Lords doubtless placed a brake on the intervening propensity of the Board (8)

(4) India Office Misc General Draft Despatches XXX Letter of Sept 2 1813

(5) India Office Misc Home Miscellaneous Series 731 A

(6) Farington Diary VI p 205

(7) Home Miscellaneous 342 p 811

(8) Lee Warner Life of Dalhousie 1 p 109

But it was really the moderation with which the Board of Control exercised their powers which made the matters smooth. No better testimony to the fairness of the Board can be imagined than that to be found in the words of the Directors who giving their view on the probable consequences of the Bill of 1818 declared: "The general powers of superintendence and control given by the former charters are in reality so large that if they had been exercised liberally or vexatiously it might have been difficult for the Court of Directors to perform their functions and with respect to the present powers, much will depend on the spirit in which they are administered" (9).

Nevertheless the system of dual Government cost enormous labour and time. When a despatch arrived from India and it usually contained hundreds of paragraphs it had to be copied for the Board of Control. Then a collection which on occasions consisted of fifteen to twenty thousand pages of manuscript had to be compiled. This normally took six months or more. There might be despatches of a prior date which had first to be answered, special letters from India on particular subjects which had first to be attended to, demand for information on particular subjects by the Directors or the Board, returns to Parliament of large masses of papers and similar calls from the Court of Proprietors. After the Collection had been prepared reply had to be drafted, and that took up considerable time again. These replies it may be remembered did not consist of brief answers to particular questions referred to the Court of Directors for their decision but were in the nature of a series of judgments passed on the multifarious proceedings of the several Governments in India for years past. The original despatch along with the Collection and the contemplated reply was sent to the Board as Previous Communication. If the Board agreed well and good. Otherwise the Collection had to be perused again, counsel consulted and a memorandum drawn up and submitted to the Board. Though the controversy was usually settled within a year in exceptional cases it dragged on for a long time as in the well known case of Major Hart where it lasted for nine years. The interposition of so much delay which was an inevitable consequence of the sharing of authority by numerous bodies—the Presidential Governments, the Supreme Government, the Court of Directors, the Board of Control and the Court of Proprietors—implied that not infrequently before a reply was received from England to a particular question the situation in India had completely changed and rendered the answer obsolete and worthless.

An idea of the work which had to be done at the East India House and Whitehall can be had by mentioning that the number of folio volumes of despatches received from India between 1793 and 1813 totalled 9,094. Apart from the drafts which were prepared by the Directors for the approval of the Board, letters which passed between the two on points arising out of them number 2,986 (10).

(9) Minute of the Court of Directors, July 15, 1813.

(10) See the very interesting and informative letter of the Court of Directors dated Aug. 27, 1829. Letters from the Court to the Board, IX, pp. 432-453.

THE FAILURE OF SHAH ALAM II's FIRST EXPEDITION

TO DELHI 1765-66

(By Dr A L Srivastava, M.A ,Ph D , D Litt)

It is not generally known that before his final expedition that ended in his triumphal entry into Delhi on 6th January, 1772 Shah Alam had made two abortive attempts to quit the British protection at Allahabad and regain his ancestral throne and capital with which was associated in popular imagination the sovereignty of the whole of the sub continent of India. He had entered into an alliance¹ with the English in Bengal against Shuja ud daulah in November 1764 and from that date till a few days before the conclusion of the treaty of Allahabad (16th Oct 1765), he had hoped in view of an agreement² made by the Calcutta government to be put in possession of the provinces of Oudh and Allahabad but these hopes were completely shattered³ when the restoration of Shuja ud Daulah was decided upon by Clive. After this memorable treaty by which he was given a tribute of 26 lakhs of rupees from Bengal and the districts of Kora and Allahabad from the Nawab Wazir's dominion he resided at Allahabad for nearly six years. But he always looked upon it as a temporary sojourn a mere period of waiting during which to persuade the English authorities at Fort William to fulfil their promise of conducting him to Delhi and also to enlist the support of other powers to join the expedition. As he wrote to Verelst in September 1769 his residence at

more than a dignified royal pensioner living in an atmosphere of suspicion with

invested with full powers of this office in the teeth of the imperial opposition in 1768 because Clive's successor, Verelst chose to support the former⁴ and a little

¹Srivastava Shuja ud Daulah Vol I 57-58

²Bengal Secret Consultations (Abb Ben Sec Cons) 7th Jan 1765 and Srivastava, Treasuries of Allahabad *vide* Progs I H Congress 1938 p 361

³*Ibid*

⁴Calendar of Persian Correspondence (or C P C) I 1676

⁵C P C I 279 974 II 1044

⁶C P C II 377 1207 Ben Sel Com Progs 5th January 1769

⁷C P C II 1665

Clive had realised the intensity of the Emperor's desire and in response to his appeal for military assistance to instal him on his ancestral throne had promised to furnish him with two battalions of sepoy and eight pieces of field artillery, whenever the king resolved on marching either to Agra or to Delhi, but as regards full military assistance he would afford it only if he were authorised by the Company and the King of England to undertake such an expedition¹. There is no doubt that the latter part of Clive's promise was only a diplomatic device designed to silence the Emperor about the arbitrariness of the harsh terms he was dictating and to put off his march for Delhi and was not seriously intended to be fulfilled. In fact the British policy consistently aimed at using every indefinitely the imperial stay at Allahabad, as it the Company. But this policy of promising to the rains², did not succeed for a long time as Shah Alam ultimately realised that the rains would never end.

As early as the end of September 1765, barely a month and a half after the Alla-

In October he received a letter from Najib ud Daulah the regent at Delhi, informing him that the Sikhs were intending to occupy the Capital and the honour and safety

he wrote, was short of them". A little later Shah Alam who had, simultaneously with this correspondence entered into negotiations with Malhar Rao Holkar to whom he was said to have promised the cession of Kora and Allahabad districts as the price of the proposed Maratha undertaking to reinstate him at Delhi despatched his advance tents towards the Capital and repeated his request to Clive, explaining that his presence was necessary at Delhi as a Sikh invasion of the place was imminent and therefore Najib ud Daulah, the Ruhela and the Bangash Chiefs were anxious to welcome him back to the imperial metropolis³. Clive endeavoured to dissuade the Emperor to give up his intention and even remonstrated with him, as this "wild project" was sure to throw him into the hands of the Marathas whom the English at once detested and feared and was likely to threaten the safety of Shuja ud Daulah's dominion and disturb the peace of Bengal, besides depriving the Fort William of all the advantage and prestige that were associated with the Mughal crown⁴. Shah Alam's conduct at this juncture savours of timidity. Instead of boldly declaring the real object of his negotiations with the Marathas he characterised the story as a mere concoction of some interested mischiefmongers, and informed Clive that he had

¹C P C II 1364 & 1365

²C P C I 2688, II 660, Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire II 549

³C P C I 2718 2731

⁴C P C I 2735A

⁵C P C I 2735

⁶C P C I 2731, 2735 & 2735A, B C and D

⁷Ben Sel Com to Col Smith, 29th Oct 1765, C P C I 2730

sent Saif ud din Muhammad to Malhar Rao to divert the latter's attention from Delhi on which he had been casting longing eyes and to sound him for an alliance with the Company. He took pains to assure the governor that his march was intended only as far as Kora Jahanabad whence he would return after he had conquered he had no desire what-country¹ Believing

ne distant view to that end², the Select Committee gave no credence to the Emperor's assurances and directed Colonel Richard Smith, commander of the Company's troops at Allahabad, to induce him to give up his project and to inform him that not a single soldier under him would be allowed to accompany him. He was further instructed to do his best to break off the Emperor's connection with the Marathas "to maintain our engagements with Shujah Dowlah to the utmost of our power" and to convince Shah Alam that his best interests lay in remaining content with his present territory (Allahabad and Kora districts) and the English protection³.

Shah Alam did not mind the repeated remonstrances and rebuffs from Clive and Smith and set out towards Kora with his harem and court sometime in December, 1765 and the English governor had eventually to permit Smith, as the result of a prolonged correspondence, to attend him with 5 000 troops of the Allahabad brigade⁴. The Select Committee however, gave positive instructions to Smith not to proceed beyond Kora and to give no countenance "to his Majesty's wild project of seating himself upon the throne of his fore fathers," but if he should repose more confidence than he ought in the alliance of the Marathas, he must be left to the consequences of his own temerity⁴.

Arriving in the neighbourhood of Kora the Emperor and party encamped at Ghatpur (most probably Ghatampur on the Jamuna 13 miles south of Fatehpur, the modern head quarters of the district) and re opened negotiations with Malhar Rao Holkar who was then busy re establishing Maratha supremacy in Bundel-

otiations

e invited

William

was rea-

as would

march on Delhi and place another Mughal prince upon the throne which would result in an irreparable disgrace and ruin to the royal family. He told Smith that it was indispensable for him to be present in Delhi at this critical juncture and therefore feared that he would be under the necessity of accepting the Maratha offer if the English refused to co operate in escorting him to the capital and concluded his

¹C P C I 2754 2759 760 There is no doubt that the Emperor wanted to capture the Agra fort (S P D XXX 99) but that was only a part of his scheme which aimed at the recovery of the Delhi throne

²Ben Sel Com to Smith 2nd Nov & 2nd Dec 1765 and Letter issued by Sel Com 1765 pp 63 64 85

³S P D XXX, 107

⁴Ben Sel Com Progress of 10th Feb 1766 & 14th Feb 1766 pp 1 7

⁵S P D Vol XXX 99 102 107

impassioned appeal in these words —“ I do request it as a particular favour of your to protract this negotiation with the Marathoes ” till the Select Committee expressed their willingness to enter into an alliance with them But under orders from Bengal Smith definitely refused to comply and “ tears in the King's eyes ”, wrote Smith to the Committee, “ rolled down as I left¹ ”

The negotiations with Marathas were now broken off and the Committee turned down Smith's proposal that in view of peculiar circumstances an expedition with the Marathas for seating Shah Alam on the Mughal throne at Delhi seemed desirable². On the contrary the Bengal government resolved on 13th March, 1766, to form an alliance with the Jats and the Ruhelas to counteract the schemes of the Marathas and Clive and Carrac were authorised to march to Patna for this purpose³. The governor sent an assurance to the Emperor that the English would escort him to Delhi “ after the rains ”—a promise never intended to be fulfilled—and the helpless Shah Alam had no alternative but to return to Allahabad early in April,⁴ 1766.

Shah Alam
England to

the object of preventing recurrence of similar expeditions on the part of the Mughal Emperor for a few years if not for ever Accordingly Aitizam ud Din, an Indian Muslim of noble birth, was sent along with Captain Swiston on this mission sometime in 1766 But after an absence of two years and nine months he returned from London in 1769 without having been able to achieve his object⁵ Clive's policy was, however, crowned with success in as much as Shah Alam waited for a reply from the King of England for about three years and did not plan another march to Delhi till April, 1769

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¹R Smith's letter to Ben Sel Com 10th Feb 1766 vide Ben Sel Com Progs 1766, pp 24 34

²*Ibid*

³Ben Sel Com Progs, 13th March 1766

⁴Ghulam Ali, Shah Alam Nama (MS) II 253

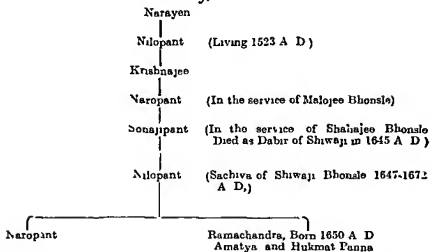
⁵Shigarf Nama (MS) 2a 5b

Life and Achievements
of
Ramachandrapant Amatya, Bawadekar, Hukmat-Panna, '

1650 1720 A. D

By Vasudeo V. Thakur, M A

1 Ancestry.



The first three persons were serving the Bedar Muslim rulers. The next four generations served the Bhonsle family in Maharashtra. The family bears various surnames according to their residence, and offices held — Bhadnekar, Bhiwandikar, Muzumdar, Amatya and Bawadekar. It is, however, now known as "Amatya Bawadekar".

Sonajipant (5th in the line of descent) is represented as well versed in polity in "Shiva Bharat", and holding discussions on "policy" with Shahaji and Shiwaji Maharajas.

2 Parentage

Nilopant, the father of Ramachandra, served over 25 years as Sachiva. A letter of his is extant to day addressed to Shiwaji Maharaja, revealing the independent attitude he had taken in contravention to the latter's orders. In the end the Maharaja had to yield, and grant his request. Straightforwardness and spirit of service, "Deserve then Desire" are the chief features of the letter (Bawada Daftar I, 46). This Nilopant and his wife, Nirabai were disciples of Ramadas Swami (Shree Das Vishram Dhama P 439-41).

Of such an illustrious ancestry, and disciplined parentage was born Ramachandra in 1650 A D.

3 Education and entry into State service

Ramachandra's Thread ceremony, and initiation into "Alpha & Beta" took place under the supervision of Ramadas Swami. Ramachandra served the Swami as his clerk for a number of years (Shree Sampradayachi Kagad Patro Vol I, 78).

State service under—

(a) Shiwaji, (b) Sambhaji, (c) Rajaram and (d) Two Kolhapur rulers

A. D. 1668 Submis of Janjira Sindhu Durga (B D I, 6)

„ 1674 Present as Amatya in the Coronation Ceremony of Shivaji Maharaja (Marathi Riyasat, II, 360)

„ 1681 Performed the last rites of Swami Ramadass, under the orders of Sambhaji Maharaja (Marathi Riyasat, II,)

„ 1689 Land grant at Kelwade (B D I, 52)

„ 1690 Walwa—a deserted village on the Krishna, repopulated (Grant Duff I, 252)

„ 1691 Hereditary Desh Kulkarni, appointment by the Maharaja (B D I, 24)

„ 1692 General order to the army by the Maharaja to carry out Amatya's orders (B D I 24)

„ 1693 Maharaja confers two villages on the wife and daughter of Amatya in appreciation of his eminent services during Aurangzeb's Southern Campaign, and the Maharaja's absence (B D I, 52)

„ 1697—99 Maharaja Rajaram, on his return from Junaj, wrote letters in high appreciation of the State service—on sea and land—rendered during the "War of Maratha Independence. He is titled "Hukmat-Panna" ("Fountain of Authority") (B D I, 4, 39 and 44)

„ 1708—15 Amatya is engaged in arranging State affairs of the Kolhapur Branch of Bhonsies (B D I 73 74 76 82 83, 84)

„ 1720 Amatya's last note to Sambhaji Maharaja of Kolhapur (Rajawade VIII 81,

1 Strategic Success and Statesmanship

During the Maratha struggle with Aurangzeb which lasted from 1689 to 1707 Ramachandrapant became and remained the guiding soul and spirit of the Maratha State. In Maharashtra he arranged 3 camps—(A) Himself taking charge of the territory between Satara and Miraj (B) Konkan was taken charge of by Angrey, Gujar and Parashram Trimbak (C) Mawal was taken charge of by Shankaraji Narayan

The roads to and routes between, Maharashtra and Karnatic were guarded by Jadhav, Ghorpare, Pawar and Atalye

Rajaram Maharaja, after an exile of nine years, came back safe and sound, and proclaimed himself king from Satara. The era of "Defensive Policy" ends in 1698, yielding place to an era of "Vigorous, Progressive Policy".

Corps of Dhargar army were raised. The Mawlas were stirred up. Leaders were encouraged by gifts and titles.

Chhatrapati Shewaji Maharaja had abolished (or more properly) had discouraged the Vatan System. The Amatya realised the weakness, of his policy and declared "Unless the Vatan are returned back, we cannot hope to populate deserted villages. Deshmukhs, Deshkulkarns, Mohadams must be re-instated in their old rights, privileges and possessions" (Itihasa Sangraha, Rajawade XVII, 28)

An eye to perceive, a head to conceive, and a hand to execute are, according to Burke, the possessions of a statesman. Ramachandrapant did possess all these, as will be seen from the short sketch given above.

5 Literary Achievement "*Adnya Patra*"

At the instance of Sambhaji Maharaja of Kolhapur Ramachandrapant wrote in Marathi "*Adnya Patra, alias the Maratha Polity*", in the year 1716. The work is divided into 9 chapters dealing with (I and II) Shiwaji's achievements, and the object of the present work, (III) The King's duties, (IV) The Ministry, (V) Sowkars or Bankers, (VI) Vatan, (VII) Grants in charity, (VIII) Forts and (IX) Navy.

It is a concise treatise penned by one who had seen active service in court and camp for over 50 years in Maratha affairs during a very critical period of stress, strain and reconstruction. Its value is enhanced the more based as it is on past works and traditions, as well as personal experience. The language is brief and direct. The treatment of the subject is all logical. Justice tempered with mercy is writ large on every page.

The work vividly illustrates the social, the economic and the intellectual condition of the seventeenth century Maharashtra.

Maharaja Abhaisingh of Jodhpur and Maharaja Sujansingh of Bikaner

[By Pandit Bisheshwarnath Rel. Sahitacharya]

We give below the English translation of a letter⁽¹⁾ of Maharaja Abhaisingh, the ruler of Jodhpur, written from Nagpur the headquarter of the district adjoining Bikaner and addressed to his ambassador at the Mughal Court

A dispute arose, in August 1733 A D, about the demarcation of the boundary of their respective territories between Maharaj Bakhatsingh⁽²⁾ the Chief of Nagpur and Maharaja Sujansingh the ruler of Bikaner. Consequently the former invaded Bikaner and later on Maharaja Abhaisingh also joined him. Maharaja Sujansingh though for sometime bravely defended his capital yet by the end of February 1734 A D he was obliged to enter into a treaty with the ruler of Jodhpur on the terms mentioned in the aforesaid letter.

On the other hand at that time the Marhattas were devastating a large part of India and a batch of these marauders under the leadership of Baji Rao plundered Malwa while another crossing Hadoti devastated the districts of Jaipur. Maharaja Jaisingh the ruler of Jaipur and the Governor of Malwa being unable to defend the provinces under his care sought help of Maharaja Abhaisingh of Jodhpur.

Moreover the conditions in the country became so threatening that Nawab Khan Durrani the minister of Emperor Muhammad Shah himself decided to march against the enemy but could not succeed in his attempt.

A detachment of these marauders also invaded Ahmedabad but was repulsed by the Jodhpur forces as is evident from the letter under reference dated the 3rd March 1734 A D.

In conclusion we may add that this letter besides giving the terms on which a treaty was concluded between the rulers of Jodhpur and Bikaner exposes the weakness of the Mughal Court and the invasion of the Marhattas on Gujrat, Malwa and Rajputana.

Top and marginal lines written with Maharaja's own pen

Almighty is our protector

We have already written about the events. We have come back to Nagaur. As we heard of the march of the Nawab we leaving all other affairs have returned here immediately. We also received the request of Jaisinghji for help and therefore we are coming in haste. As we have with us a large contingent you would ask the Nawab about our further movements so that the contingent may be retained. For this we have given detailed instructions to Manroop and according to which you would take the promise of the Nawab. You would also obtain sufficient money from him. Further if you would tell the Nawab and get his full approval and convince him fully. In this task your services and

(1) It was discovered at the house of the descendant of the person to whom it was written and is now preserved in the Sardar Museum Jodhpur.

(2) He was the younger brother of Maharaja Abhaisingh of Jodhpur and held the province of Nagaur as his Jagir.

the way you proceed will be appreciated You would note everything written by Manroop You would keep yourself always hearty by our favour, which we have for you It is our command Arrange to send the money immediately as we are in dire need of it Pay particular attention towards obtaining money It is our command

Inscription of the Royal seal

By the grace of Almighty (Goddess) Hingulaj glory be to the sovereign king of kings paramount sovereign Maharaja Shri Abhaisingh Deva, who shines like the sun on the earth

Harī Amba Shiva Soor (Sun) and Vinayaka may these five deities always bestow favours

Approval of the letter by Maharaja in his own caligraphy

It is our command

Letter

By command of the illustrious king of kings paramount sovereign Maharaja Shri Abhaisinghji and his heir apparent Shri Ramsinghji Bhandari Amarsingh at Shahjahanabad (Delhi) would note their favours

We have received your letter and noted all its contents You had written that the Nawab will march against the forces of the invaders as the enemy crossing Malwa and Hadoti has arrived at Dhundhar and has devastated the districts of Amber Jaipur Thereon hearing the march of the Nawab we decided to reach there in order to punish the invaders and not to pay any more attention to this affair (of ours) Further as the Bikaner ruler was also suing for peace and has accepted the allegiance of the Darbar (us) we fixed rupees twelve lacs as indemnity Out of which he would pay rupees eight lacs in cash and for the remaining four lacs he would cede the districts of Jharbaji and Sarunda to Darbar (us) He also promised to serve ourselves in future with his full contingent and every available force under him Now we are marching from this place to chastise the invaders We have just received an urgent request from Jaisinghji for the early despatch of a helping force to him and we have also heard about the march of the Nawab therefore how could we delay here any more

Now you would enquire from the Nawab whether we are to go to Ahmedabad or march towards Ajmer and Amber to face the enemy, who is reported to have arrived there As for the expenses and deputies you would personally see the Nawab and get rupees 25 00 000 at least Everything depends on money Also enquire about the Governorship of the province of Ajmer The news about the repulse of the enemy who invaded the province of Ahmedabad might have reached there directly Further we are despatching there ten thousand horse very shortly Hence you would arrange for the money and enquire about the Governorship of Ajmer Your services will be fully appreciated for these efforts Moreover we have given orders to Thandari Manroop Daula, who will write you and you would also try your best for that There ought to be no negligence in it It is our command

Sunday the 10th of the bright half of Phagun 1790 V S (8th March 1734 A D)

SOME DOCUMENTS BEARING ON IMPERIAL MUGHAL GRANTS TO RAJA SHĀHU.

(1717-1724)*

(By Dr. A. C. Pawar, M A, LL B, Ph.D., Bar-at-Law.)

The imperial Mughal grants of *Chauth*, *Sardeshmukhi* and *Swarājya* given to Raja Shāhu in the year 1719 have been perhaps lost to us. They were seen by the first historian of the Marathas¹, but they are not available now. There are, however, certain other papers which throw some light on these grants. These are English² translations of original Persian documents and are included in Br. Mu. Add. 26,606, which formed part of the private collection of "James Grant", the historian himself. Some account of the grants based mainly on these papers is attempted here.

There is no record of any grant made to Raja Shāhu when he was released from Mughal captivity by Azam Shah in May 1707. According to Chitnis³, orders were issued to the governors of the Deccan provinces, merely intimating them that the old Maratha kingdom was restored to Raja Shāhu and thenceforward he would be the ruler. The Raja was, however, promised that *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* of the six Deccan *Subhas* would be granted to him if he proved loyal and serviceable to the emperor. It is probable that at the time when Shāhu secured his release there was no possibility of obtaining any privileges. His may have been even a case of forced release, or, in the words of a news letter⁴ written about this time, Shāhu just ran away. If that were the case Shāhu could hardly have had any time to obtain a grant or even a promise for it.

Though we do not know the date⁵ of the first grant, we find that early in September 1709, Shāhu gave out that Bahādur Shah had allowed him to levy the *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* contributions in the southern parts of the imperial territory, and that, as *Chauth* was not paid in certain parts, "The Maratha Sardars were ordered to go to the royal territory to plunder it"⁶. Khāfi Khān, however, asserts that owing to party feuds at the Mughal Court, no *Firman* was issued at that time either to Shāhu or to his rival Shivaji, the son of Rājārām and Tārābāi⁷. Nevertheless, it must be said that with or without any such grants, Shāhu for some years after his

*All dates mentioned in this article are according to the Old Style, and use is made of *Khare's Jantri* in finding out dates according to Christian era.

¹ Grand Duff in his *History* (1919 ed., Vol. I, P. 372, fn.) says that the original *Firmans* were in the possession of the Raja of Satara.

² An abridged Marathi translation of some of these Persian papers will be found in *Taha Karāmadar* (Pp. 1-9).

³ *Thorale Shahu Mahārāja*, Pp. 8-9 (ed. 1924).

⁴ A news letter included in *Notes from Jaipur Records*. Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mulla. I am very much obliged to Rao Pehadur G. S. Sardesai for the loan and permission he gave me to use a typed copy of the notes prepared and supplied to him by Dr. Raghubir Singh.

I have referred to these notes as *Akhbarats*.

⁵ From *Rājwade*, Vol. 8, 289 it is clear that certain rights were conceded to Shāhu before May 1709.

⁶ *Akhbarats*. That in this year Shahu's agents were levying such contributions in the province of Haiderābād is clear from *Selectio is from Persia Daftar*, Vol. 7, 4.

⁷ Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, PP. 408-9.

release must have been forced to obtain a share of the imperial revenues. Mere recognition of his title to the old kingdom was not enough, he had to reduce it into his possession, whereas he had no means of raising and maintaining an army. He had, therefore, to depend mainly on the resources of his imperial patron. Wherever he could not "take money" by peaceful means, he must have used force.⁸

During the vicereignty of Zulfiqar Khan (1708-1713), who ruled the Deccan provinces through his deputy Daud Khan, and who from the very beginning maintained "a right understanding with the Sevajees" a "friendly agreement" existed between Shahu and Daud Khan. By this agreement the Maratha King was to get the *Chauth* of the Deccan provinces, but it was to be collected by the imperial officers.¹⁰ This agreement was not, perhaps, strictly adhered to by Zulfiqar Khan's successor, Nizam ul mulk (1713-1716) but the claim that the Nizam "succeeded in abrogating the impossible and harmful arrangements made between Zulfiqar Khan and Raja Shahu"¹¹ is not at all supported by the fact that later on the Nizam had himself to endorse similar grants.

With the assumption of the vicereignty of the Deccan by Sayyid Hussain Ali Khān in May 1715, a definite progress was made by Shahu in obtaining official recognition of his claims. Circumstances so developed that the Sayyid was forced to

it must be mentioned
ment was reached
imperial practices,
tioned for certain g

We k	known ¹⁴
cond	al person
Bālāj	wanath
	1717

⁸ Bombay to Surat January 1st 1703 F, R. Bombay, Vol 1
The Sevajees were the Marathas

¹⁰ Khāfi Khan.

¹¹ Dr Khan's *Nizamul mulk Asaf Jah I* P 79

(Italics in the quotation are mine) The grants which the Nizam endorsed are mentioned below

¹² Khāfi Khan, P 466

¹³ *Ibid* See also S P D 7 28

" Bundah¹⁶ Raja Shāhoo the Slave of Alumgeer Badshah Gazee

" The requests according to the sequel of Rajah Shāhoo, the date 24th Shooval in the 6th Jaloos, (September 19, 1717) written to the ministers and delivered by Ballajee Pundit

" 1st The old kingdoms, according to the two¹⁷ papers with my signature, be given to me upon the date of Sabnak (?)

2nd Let the Watun of the Surdeshmuckee of the six provinces of the Deccan, according to tl

The province

Barar with Ch

(Beeder), the

and the province of Furcundah Buniad (Hyderabad)

3rd Let the fourth part of the six provinces of the Deccan, according to the sequel, with 25 per cent be given to me

¹⁷The names of the provinces are as above and are mentioned in the same order except that " with the Carnatic " comes not after Bijapur but after both Bijapur and Haiderabad ⁶

4th If any of my brothers shall come to you do not keep them near you, and if any of my servants shall come to you for employment, do not employ them in your service

5th Let my mother, my brother my brother's wife and other persons be brought from the royal presence and delivered over to me¹⁸"

Three days before this paper was written yet another was made out by Shahu It was as follows —

(Seal of Shahu as before)

" I Raja Shahoo am the slave of your Majesty I have obtained from your royal presence the Watun of the Surdeshmuckee and the fourth part

¹⁶ This was Shahu's Persian Seal which he must have used in his correspondence with imperial officers For other purposes he had a Marathi Seal

¹⁷ The translation of these two papers is not included in Bri Mu Add 76 606

¹⁸ I have retained everywhere the original transliteration because the names of the provinces are clear

¹⁹ In Bhāratvarsh Patre Yadi 1—47 (same as Aitihāsik Patravayavahar No 6 Pp 8—9) a

bai and servants

⁶ Obtain *Firmāne* in conformity with our past agreements

coast (Konkanpatti)

²¹ Ask for *Itiyam* Jan 1811 ?

²² Besides the six Deccan provinces get as much of Gujarat and Malwa as you can

(Hyderabad) and the province of Darool Zufur (Beejapure) My Bair-bunds²⁰ are plundering two of these provinces viz B eejapur and Hyderabad on which account I am making an agreement that under the auspices of your Majesty in three years I will drive away those plunderers and will make a good bundobust of the country And if in three years I may not be able to drive them out then whatever loss on their account may arise to your Majesty's Kingdom I will recompense your Majesty for it On this account I write this 21st Shoowal in the 6th Jaloos²¹ (Sept 16 1717)

It will be seen from this paper that Shahu claims that he has already obtained from the Mughal Emperor the *watan* of the *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* of the Deccan provinces It may be that no *Firmans* were as yet issued to him and he was therefore endeavouring to get his title duly recognised

In conformity with the promises made by Shahu his *wakil* Yadavrao submitted a petition to the Viceroy which *inter alia* throws light on the *raison d'être* of the *Surdeshmukhi* grant The *Rajah's* Wakeel reads the summary of the petition

is representing that the country of the Deccan has been laid waste for many years by the hands of the plunderers If the business of the *Surdeshmukhee* of the provinces of the Deccan with the tax of ten per cent is fixed to his master then he will punish those plunderers and will render every deserted village populous and the plunderers who inhabit the borders and tyrannise over the *Riyats* he will expell and he will (make ?) such a bundobust that travellers and merchants will be able to travel backwards and forwards with security If any one's property is robbed or destroyed then he will punish the thieves and make them restore it and if he cannot accomplish this he himself will give it And he will at all times place a good army with the arranger which shall transact all the *Sarkar's* affairs And when the country is very desolate he will not take a single rupee of taxes On this account he cannot give the *Peshkush*²² according to custom which is fixed according to the former revenue but he consents to pay Rs 1 17 19 390=12 as a *Peshkush* one fourth of which he will give on taking the *Sunnad* and the remainder on settling the taxes He is hopeful that he will obtain the *Sunnad* ²³

On February 10 1718 Yadavrao completed the agreement for the payment
would entail upon his master
following *Sanad* was issued
an

Robert Molesworth

²¹ Br Mu 6606 There are several papers showing the revenue of the Deccan provinces and the *Peshkas* calculated thereupon The revenue of the provinces in the year 1712 was as follows —

	Rs
Aurangabad	1 23 76 04 ² — 11 ¹ / ₂
Bejar	1 15 93 508 — 14 ¹ / ₂
Bedar	74 91 879 — 19 ¹ / ₂
B eejapur	7 85 08 560 — 14 ¹ / ₂
Hyderabad	6 48 67 483 — 0
Khanesh	57 49 910 — 3
	<hr/>
	18 05 17 994 — 5 ¹ / ₂

First Seal

"Amecrool" Amra Buhadur Feroz Jung the Slave of Mahoommed Feerok-Seer Badshah Gazee, in the year 1125

Second Seal

"Der (?) anut Khan the Slave of Mahommed Feerokseer Badshah Gazee in the year 1121

"In these days the business of the Surdeshmuckee of the province(s) of the

to the Sarkar, of which one fourth was to be given on taking the Sunnad and the remainder - the country every endeavour for the performance of these, and if any one's property should be stolen or destroyed, to get it restored and to punish the thieves, and if he does not

It is necessary that the Deshmuks, Deshpandians, Mukuddoms, Riyats and Musarras (?) of the above mentioned provinces should give the rights of the Sardeshmuckee to that person to whom it has been fixed 19th Rubecoolawool in the Jaloos²⁶ 7" (February 10, 1718)

Two months later on April 12, 1718 Sayyid Hussain Ali Khān gave to Shahu a Sanad for "the Lands of the Old Kingdoms", that is, Swarājya It was as follows

(The seal of the Viceroy as above)

"In these days the Lands of the Old Kingdoms according to former custom with the consent of ten lacs of Rupees as a Peshkush to the Sarkar of which one fourth is to be given on taking the Firman and the remainder on settling the taxes agreeing with the detail on the back has been fixed to Rajah Shahoo, that he is to render the Riyats and the rest of the inhabitants of those lands contented and to make the country populous, to be a well wisher of the Sarkar, and to punish all malefactors, and whatever has been settled by the Sarkar to act according to it, to give the Peshkush of the Sarkar agreeable to the agreement It is necessary that the Deshmukhs, Deshpandes, Mukuddamans, Muzarrans and all the inhabitants of those kingdoms shall consider Rajah Shahoo as their master and whatever advice he may give to consent to it Let them consider this as fixed 21st Jummadoolawool in the 7th Jaloos²⁷" (April 12, 1718)

On the back of this Sanad, the details of the Old Kingdoms are given They were divided into 37 *paraganās*, 24 of which were in the Balaghāt country and 13 in the Pānghat country The details of the places included in all these *paraganās* are given, but they are too many to mention here

²⁶ The emperor 'Ad Farrukh sīyar conferred the following titles on Sayyid Hussain Ali Khan in 1713 Umdat ul mulk Amir ul umra Bahadur Firuz Jung Sipah-Sardar See Irvine *Later Mughals* 1 258

²⁷ The spring season (?)

²⁸ Br Mu Add 26,506

²⁹ *Idem*

In the year Sayyid Hussain Ali Khān came to Shāhu Kanad for Sardeshmukhi

These grants by the Viceroy were to receive royal confirmation and the Sayyid "made no delay in writing for a royal firman"²⁹ But even before this confirmation was obtained—and it was not obtained early nor without some trouble—Shāhu made it known that "The Sannads were issued did not wait for the Sannads"³¹

Farrukh siyar refused to ratify the agreement made by the Viceroy with the Marathas, and the Sayyid marched to Delhi with an army of his new allies (February 1719) Farrukh siyar was deposed (February 17) and a prince named Rafi ud dajjat was placed on the throne He reigned for few months and was himself deposed on May 24 It was during this time that the royal *Firmans* confirming the grants to Raja Shāhu were issued The *Firman* for Chauth was issued on March 3, and that for Sardeshmukhi on March 15 The date of the deed for Swarājya is not known³² A brief account of the contents of these grants is given by Grand Duff³³

One small point may be cleared here Grand Duff says, "the original grants are in possession of the Raja of Satara, they are in the name of Mohummad Shah, dated in the first year of his reign"³⁴ Referring to this remark Irvine says, "No accession being then hidden in the future, the fact that at a subsequent date the accession would be ante-dated could not be known to any one"³⁵ Irvine's logic is irrefutable, but what Grand Duff saw with his own eyes must have been true. both emperors There are many nce, a document dated June 23, Old Kingdoms

according to the great *Firman* of Shum Sha ud dean Mahoommed Rufaf ud dajat of which a copy has arrived in the Daftar Khana has been fixed to Rajah Shahoo" Similarly in another deed we read, "In these days the fourth part of the country of the six provinces of the Deccan . . . according to the *Firman* of Mahommed Shah Bad shah Gazee has been fixed to Rajah Shahoo" It is thus clear that the *Firmans* must have been originally issued by the emperor Rafi ud-darjat, but, when the name of the emperor was expunged from the records, Muhammad Shah's *Firmans* must have replaced those of his predecessor

²⁹ Khāfi Khan P 467 Khāfi Khan gives a long and graphic account of all these collections

³⁰ *Idem* P, 468

³¹ Shāhu's own letters Rāwāde 3, 99—100

³² *Idem*.

³³ Grand Duff gives the above dates in his *History* I 372—3 fn

³⁴ *Ibid*

³⁵ *Idem* P 372 fn

³⁶ *Idem Mughals* I 407 fn

³⁷ Br Mu 26,606

The conditions under which Shahu accepted the grants are given in detail in a document²⁷ which, unfortunately, does not bear any date. It is as follows —

(Shahu's Persian Seal)

"I am making an agreement to be obedient to your Majesty, according to the sequel will I act

- 1st I have obtained from your bounty and generosity the Watun of the Sardeshmuckee of the six provinces of the Deccan, with the favour of the Almighty I will make your country extremely populous, and the Peshkush according to the dustoor and agreeing with the dustoor of other Jemindars shall be paid after receiving the Sunnud agreeable to the agreement
- 2nd I have obtained the fourth part of the six provinces of the Deccan in return for which fifteen thousand horsemen shall be ready in the six provinces and whatever your collectors may order that shall be performed
- 3rd No plunder shall be committed in the forts, the stations and the country of your Majesty, and whoever wishes shall pass thro the six provinces with safety
- 4th The dependents of your Majesty having become your enemies whether Marathas or Mussulmans, shall find no admission in my kingdoms, should they ask for it
- 5th A man of high rank shall be placed by me with your collector that according as I have made an agreement so shall he act

The next few papers contained in the bundle which we are noticing are all Sanads issued by Nizam ul mulk. Some of them were issued by him on November 22, 1720, some on January 14, 1721 and the rest on June 23, 1724. The necessity of mentioning these chronological details lies in the fact that it is not clear in what particular capacity and with what particular intentions the Nizam may have given the Sanads at the time he did. It appears that during this period he was eager to secure the assistance of the Marathas. In 1720, the Sayyid brothers sought his destruction, whereas he on his part "gathered great forces in the Dukan (Deccan) Country and openly declared against the Syuds³⁸." Nizam ul mulk's stars were in the ascendant. He defeated and killed in open battles both Dilwar Ali (June 8) and Alum Ali (July 30). The Sayyids must have been frightened by his victories, because, with a view to pacify him, they made the emperor send a *Firman* offering him the Viceroyalty of the Deccan. But 'as expected Nazamulmulk refused the Phurmaund and Seerpav³⁹ sent him by the King, returning answer that it came from the Syed who kept the King Prisoner from whom he hoped to deliver⁴⁰ him." It thus appears that Nizam ul mulk had not assumed the Viceroyalty of the Deccan when he issued the Sanads in the years 1720-21.

May
the S
gett
Anar

"This is the explanation of the request of Rajah Shahoo's Wakeel

²⁸ *Idem*.

¹¹ Bengal Public Consultation Range 1, Vol 4, P 134 (May 1720)

19 Robes of honour

¹¹ Patna to Fort William, June 1, 1720 Beng Pub Con., Vol 4, P 132

He is representing that according to the Firman of Mahoommud Shah Badshah in which it is fixed to take the Fourth part of the six provinces of the Deccan and to place fifteen thousand Horsemen under the command of the arranger of the six provinces, give to his master a new Sunnud⁴¹ "

On this petition, the Nizam's officer commented,

" The copy of the Firman of Mahoommud Shah Badshah Gazee is in his (i.e., Wakil's) possession. That fifteen thousand Horsemen are to be placed by Raja Shahoo under the command of the arranger of the provinces and in return he is to receive the fourth part of the six provinces of the Deccan. Formerly in the days of Hussein Alley Khan the Purwanas of the fourth part of the six provinces were not taken from the Dufur of the Deewan of the Deccan. The Purwanas of the fourth of the lands held immediately by Government agreeing with the Seeaha Jat (?) of the Nizamut Dufur were taken from the Dewan's Daftur⁴² "

Similarly Shāhu's Wakil submitted that the Sardeshmukhi rights also should be confirmed and that his master was ready to perform all the duties assigned to him in return of those rights⁴³

Nizam ul mulk consented and issued the following orders⁴⁴ on November 22, 1720

(1) Seal

" Nizamool Moolk Futah Jung Buhadar the disciple of Mahoommed Shah Badshah Gazee, in the year 1131 and the 1st Jaloos

" In these days the fourth part of the country of the six provinces of the Deccan from the date of the service of fifteen thousand Horsemen according to the Firman of Mahommed Shah Badshah Gazee has been fixed to Rajah Shahoo. The before mentioned army is to be placed with arranger of the provinces of the Deccan and to perform the king's service. It is necessary that the Governors, the Amals, the Jagheerdars and the Koozeans (?) of the above mentioned provinces should give to the Carcoons of Rajah Shahoo that which has been fixed. 2nd Sufur in the 2nd Jaloos (November 22, 1720)

(2) (Seal as before)

" In these days the business of the Surdeshmuckee of the Provinces of the Deccan according to the detail on the back with the tax of ten per cent and consent of Rs 1,17,19 390 12-0 as a Peshkush to the Sarkar, and agreeing with the firman of Mahommed Shah Badshah Gazee has been fixed to Rajah Shahoo etc, etc ⁴⁵ 2nd Safar in the 2nd Jaloos "

(3) Nizam ul mulk not only recognised Shāhu's rights of Chauth and Sardesh mukhi and ordered the officers of the Deccan provinces to allow the Raja to enjoy his rights without opposition, but he also issued a number of orders to the Thanedars, or persons in charge, of several places, which till then were included within the imperial dominions, to deliver those places to Shahu. These are too many to mention here

⁴¹ Br Mu 20 606

⁴² Idem

⁴³ Idem In order to save space the whole paper is not reproduced here

⁴⁴ Idem

⁴⁵ The remaining part of this Sanad is exactly the same as the one that was issued by Sayyid Hussain Ali Khan

After the victories of Nizam-ul-mulk over his adversaries in 1720, his relations with Raja Shahu appear to have grown in cordiality. There was a meeting between him and the Raja's Peshwa, Bajirao, on January 4, 1721⁴⁶. Nine days later Shahu's *Wakil* Mahadaji Anandrao submitted his requests⁴⁷ to Nizam ul mulk about his master's rights of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi. He said that he had in his possession the Sanads of Sayyid Hussain Ali Khan, and the Firmans of Muhammad Shah "with the seal of the Cazy of Aurangabad". But "the Sunnuds of the Daftur of the Deewan were not obtained". He, therefore, requested for such Sanads. As regards the agreed payment of the *Peshkash* the *Wakil* observed, "the country is very desolate, and plunderers are destroying it, and of the tax of ten percent one Rupee has not been obtained, therefore I am making an agreement that the fourth part of the *Peshkash* shall be given in the year 1131" (i.e., in A.D. 1722).

The proposal was accepted by Nizam-ul mulk and on January 14 (1721) he issued "the Sanads⁴⁸ of the Diwan". The Chauth Sanad for the province of Bidar was as follows —

1st Seal

Nizamool Moolk Futtah Jung Buhadar the disciple of Mahoommed Shah Badshah Gazee. In the year 1131 and 1st Jaloos

2nd Seal

Fidoovee Khan disciple of Mahoommed Shah Badshah Gazee. In the year 1132 and 2nd Jaloos

Let it be known to the agents, to the Jagheerdars, Kroreans and Jemindars of

sary that they should give the fourth portion to his Carcoons 26 Rubecoolawool in the 2nd Jaloos (January 14, 1721)

On the back of the deed, the details of the several *paraganas* included in the province of Bidar were mentioned

In like manner, separate Sanads for the provinces of Aurangabad, Khandesh, Berar, Haiderabad and Bijapur were issued, and full details⁴⁹ of the *paraganas* included in each province were written on the back of the corresponding Sanad.

The Sardeshmukhi Sanad was as follows —

(Two Seals as before)

In these days the business of the Sardeshmuckee of the provinces of the Deccan agreeing with the firman of Mahoommad Shah Badshah Gazee and fixed by Nizamool Moolk Bahadar Futah Jung according to the Zumun(?) has been granted to Rajah Shahoo, that he will be a well wisher of the Sarkar and to render the country populous, to punish all malefactors, to be extremely attentive that travellers and merchants

⁴⁶ S. P. D. 30. 307

⁴⁷ Br. Mu. 26. 606

⁴⁸ Br. Mu. Add. 26. 606

⁴⁹ These details are important for more than one reason. The considerations of space have disallowed their enumeration.

be allowed to pass backward and forward and that they be not plundered or hindered, besides what has been fixed as the tax not to take one dam, it is necessary that the Deshmuks, Deshpandians and Jemindars of the lands of the province of Aurangabad⁵⁰ should give him the tax which has been fixed and consider him as the Surdeshmuck 26th Rubesalawool in the 2nd Jaloos (January 14, 1721)

Nizam ul mulk was made Grand Vazir on February 9, 1721. The intrigues at the court, however, did not abate a whit. So early in 1724 he "retired in disgust".⁵¹ Mir Jafar Khan, the governor of Bengal, wrote to "Rajah" to turn the opportunity to his advantage and would assist the em-
Sardeshmukhi and

Swarajya on condition that he should be excused from paying the *peshkash*. He made several other demands, one of which is of striking importance. "The Emperor will," he said, "confer the Viceroyalty of the Deccan provinces only upon that person whom we shall select⁵²." Nizam ul mulk must have anticipated such an eventuality and that is why he took care to maintain a close contact with the Marathas.⁵³ The emperor, it appears, did not accept Shahu's proposals and the Marathas sided with the Nizam. On January 27, 1724 Bajirao left Satara to join him at Aurangabad where he reached on June 21. Three days later Nizam ul mulk issued the Swarajya Sanad.

As before, Shahu's Wakil, "Mahag Punt," represented that his master had the *Firman* of Swarajya granted to him by the emperor Rafi ud darjat, but he required the Sanad from "the Dufur khana of the minister" and the Sanad "with the great minister's seal." "It is the custom," he added, "that the Sunnud of the Dufur Khana of the minister of the Deccan without the Sunnud with the great minister's seal, except with damad fazul (?) is not correct⁵⁴."

The wakil's petition was endorsed by the Deputy of the Viceroy in the following words on June 21 (1724)

"Kusban Beg, Tax C" of the lands of the old kir agreeing with the copy of from the Dufur Khana of account the detail of the transaction has been written⁵⁵."

On June 23, Nizam ul mulk issued the following Sanad⁵⁷

1st Seal

Nizamul Moolk Buhadar Futah Jung Sipah Salar, the deputy of Moored Badshah Fuluk Jktedar Mahoommed Shah 1134

2nd Seal

Mahoommed Shah Badshah Gazee by his Slave Dianut Khan in the year 1116 (sic)

13, 1723

⁵⁰ Br Mu 26 606

⁵¹ Idem

⁵² Idem

these terms is a very important document

between him and Bajirao on February

In these days the Government of the old kingdoms Tulkokun etc, under the provinces of Aurangabad and B eja pore according to the great Firman of Shumsha ud daen Mahoommed Rufaf ud dajat of which a copy has arrived in the Duftar Khana, with the consent of ten lacs of Rupees as a peshkush to the great Sarkar of which a quarter was promised in three years, the remainder to be sent to the treasury on the settlement of the Revenues has been fixed to the Rajah Shahoo agreeably to the annexed detail and that he would perform service small and great, and submission and well wishing towards the Sarkar to increase the population of the country, to drive away all vicious and troublesome people, and to make all endeavour for the performance of these, and not to allow any rascal who may enter his kingdom to remain there and all the Jemindars dwelling therein are to consider him as their master 12th Shooval in the 6th Jaloos (June 23, 1724)

One troublesome question about this grant of Swarajya still remained unsettled It was about the amount of the *peshkash* It was now decided by the imperial officers that Shahu was to pay not only the premium he had undertaken to pay, but—and this is not generally known—the *pe* should have paid but did not pay case clearly and requires no comment

"Formerly in the eleventh year of the time of Husrut Khooldah Makan (1668) agreeing with the writing of Rajah Seewajee the order of Jafur Khan Dewan Ullah, in the name of Mukurramut Khan who was the minister of the Deccan, arrived that for a country of nine Lacs of Huns forty Lacs of Huns is established as a Peshkush, of this there is a country of two and half Lacs of Huns with Seewajee and the remainder he does not hold on this account there is an order that now eleven Lacs and eleven thousand Huns arrive and he who possesses the country must return it to the Sarkar and when another country shall come to him then of it he must enter the money Agreeing with this as much kingdom as he possesses according to that peshkush on the part of Seewajee shall be fixed and as much money as he may have collected and of it as much as remains he must give it to the Sarkar, and besides that when he obtains the Sunnud of the Surdeshmukee, then he must consent to the peshkush he has not given it the sum of Rs 2 38 74,084 moreover on account of the lands of the old kingdoms of which he now asks for the Sunnud on the part of Rajah Shahoo must be given On this subject what has been fixed is —

Rs 2 38 74 084 0 0

The fourth part Rs 59 68 521 0 0

The remainder Rs 1 79 05 563 0 0

Besides this the former peshkush on the part of Rajah Shahoo is to be paid, of it he has not given a dam⁶⁸

Further details of these dues are given but they are too numerous to mention The following entry may however be added because it is significant

"The Lands according to the Sequel in the Sarkar of Junnar etc and provinces of Aurangabad on account of which formerly Seewajee Bhoslee the Grand father of Rajah Shahoo consented to the peshkush of 2 51 790 huns According to the current value of the year 1077 Fasulee in which 1 Hun (was)=Rs 3—ans 12 that sum is therefore equal to Rs 9 44 216 12⁶⁹

What amount of peshkash was ultimately paid by Shahu is not known

⁶⁸ Idem

⁶⁹ Idem.

the acquisition of the Chauth Sardesh would have been in the fitness of things; sometimes said that the contributions which the Marathas levied amounted to nothing less than blackmail. Considerations of space forbid a discussion of this question. It is however hoped that the papers given above throw sufficient light on the *quid pro quo* of the grants.



مرکز آموزش عالی سیدیه که به نام سیدیه

تقدیر کرده اند و در سال ۱۳۰۲ به وزارت معارف

مقرر گردید و این کار با ایادی و سرافرازی بی بدینا حکم جانی و استیلا شرفی

ماده انجمنی که در مورد آن شرکت قبلی مستور توی مستور نام نهادن به طور

مایه که تعداد آن است سال استحال در اصله قدسه و نظایر آنها شماره

دیگری در اسامی و شرکت و در مدد که در مع لام و در کما تعلیم

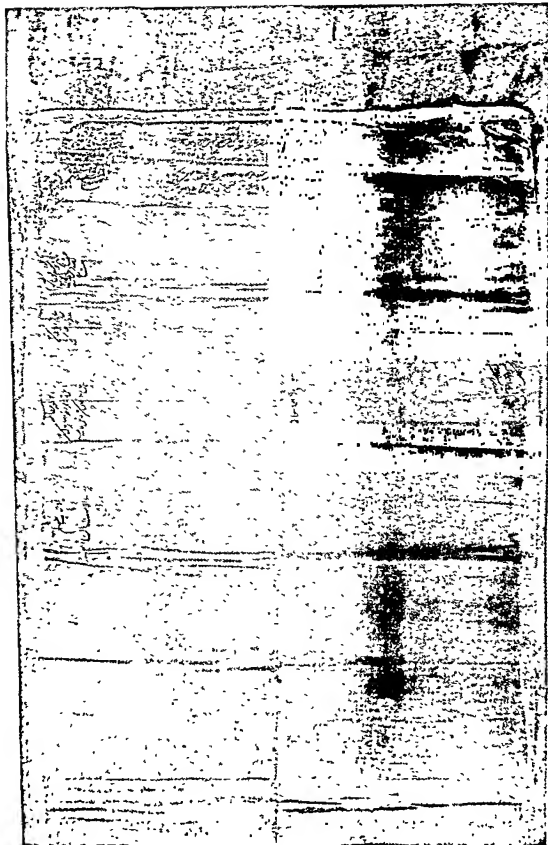
مرکز آموزش عالی سیدیه در این معارف و معارف تعلیم و

تعلیم و معارف است و در سیدیه آمده است که در معارف

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GOPIBALLABHPUR FARMAN OF BADSHAH GAZI ABDUL FATEH MAHAMMAD NASIRUDDIN SHAH

(By Mr P. Acharya, B.Sc.)

While searching papers relating to the history of Mayurbhanj, this Mughal Farman was brought to my notice by the Late Mahanta Nandanandananda Deva Goswami of Gopiballabhpur. The Mahanta family of Gopiballabhpur are the descendants of Rasikananda Deva Goswami who was the first disciple of Prabhu Chramadaya Deva Goswami who has established a family of followers known as Shyamarañi Sampradaya. Both Shyamarañanda and Rasikananda preached post-Chaitanya Vaishnavism in the districts of Hughly, Howrah, Midnapore, Singhbhum, Mayurbhanj, Balasore and many other places in Orissa and Chota Nagpur in the first half of the 17th century, and through their influence many people of high and low castes including even aborigines embraced the religion and chief among their disciples was the Mahant Baidyanatha Bhanja Deva of Mayurbhanj. Gopiballabha Deva, a disciple of Rasikananda, has written a work entitled *Rasikamangala* in 1655 A.D. after the death in 1652 A.D. of Rasikananda which is an authentic biography of the great Vaishnava apostle. Since the beginning of the 17th century the relation of the Mahanta family of Gopiballabhpur with the Bhanja ruling family of Mayurbhanj has been very cordial generation after generation and the Mahanta family has been endowed with enormous land grants for the maintenance of the family deity. There is another Persian document dated 1771 directing the local officers of Chakla Hughly in Bengal to pay proper respect to the possession of the family and another Oriya letter from Rajaram Pandit, the Marhatta Subadar of Orissa, fully establishes the influence of the family in Orissa. The importance of the family is further established by a letter written in 1803 to Mahant Nandanandananda at the direction of the British Government and this Farman is another earlier evidence in their favour.

Mughal Farman are very rare in Orissa and in that consideration I have made an attempt in bringing this document to the light only to invite the attention of the Persian scholars. I tried my best to get the document on loan and get the text deciphered by my friends in Calcutta or elsewhere but the late Goswami, as well as his son the present Goswami, were unwilling to part with it even for a few days. I thank them for allowing me to have a photograph of it from which the text in Persian has been made by a local man of Baripada town and the English translation of the text has been prepared by me from a Bengali version compared with the Persian text and so I am not sure how far I have become successful in my attempt.

In the Appendix the Persian Text is given but the text of the seals as it seems is not fully deciphered for the defect in the photography.

The Farman measures $33\frac{1}{2}$ in \times $18\frac{1}{2}$ in. At the top there are three lines below which are there two seals—one square and the other circular. In circular seal the central circle contains the name of the Emperor *Mahammadshah Badshah Gazi Sahab*. There are twelve small circles in between and the names of 12 Mughal emperors: 1) Ibn Humayan Badshah (2) Ibn Akbar (3) Ibn Shahjahan Badshah (4) Ibn Alamgir (5) Ibn Aurangzeb (6) Ibn Shahjahan Badshah (7) Ibn Akbar (8) Ibn Amir Taimur Sahab Qiran (9) Ibn Babur (10) Ibn Humayan Badshah (11) Ibn Akbar (12) Ibn Shahjahan Badshah.

Miran Shah, (10) Ibn Sultan Mahammad Shah, (11) Ibn Sultan Said Shah and (12) Ibn Umar Shah Badshah are inscribed. The square seal records "*Farman Badshah Gaz: Abdul Fateh Mahammad Nasiruddin Shah*". Below the seals follows the text. On the reverse of the Farman are official entries together with two seals one round and another rectangular and one of them records the name of the wazir. "*Quam ruddin Hossain Shah Nasratjang Khan Bahadur*". The reverse of the Farman has been pasted with a rough cloth in a careless manner which gives rise to the wrinkles through out the body. The document badly requires scientific treatment but I was not successful in my mission.

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXT

(Obverse)

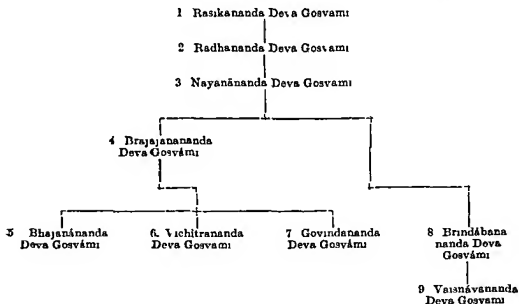
It has come to the notice of His Imperial Exalted Majesty that priest hood of the Kasba Gopiballabhpur belonging to the Province of Orissa has fallen vacant at the death of Govindananda who was its occupant and Brindaban has prayed for being honoured as a successor to him. His Imperial Exalted Majesty who is as bright as the sun and the master of the world, issued this command of granting the preference to Brindaban of the said Kasba exactly in the same manner and condition under which it was granted to the deceased priest excluding the claim of all others. It is hereby also ordered that all His Majesty's present and future servants should reg
honoured
as before
Provinces
tenance of the temple on condition that he should pray to God for the prosperity of his Majesty's Empire for ever. It is written on the 25th Jamadiul awl in the 14th year of the reign

(Reverse)

- 1 Received on the 15th Sawal in the 14th year of the reign
- 2 Entered in the office of the Dewan Ala on the 29th Ramzan in the 14th year of the reign
- 3 Compared, entered and written on the 25th Jamadiul awal in the 15th year of the reign
- 4 Put up before His Majesty according to the command of the highest of the high

Note

The Farman states that Brindaban succeeded Govindananda and their relation is found out from the following geneological table printed in Rasikmanagala



The geneological table shows that Govindananda was the nephew of Brindabananda

The original of the Farman is missing but its contents go to show that it was issued at the same time to Maharaja Viravikramaditya Bhanja Deva

the Emperor

I am unable to give the date of the Farman

In this connection I intend to discuss another Farman of Mahammad Shah, the original of which is missing but its contents go to show that it was issued at the same time to Maharaja Viravikramaditya Bhanja Deva

There is a printed copy of the translation of the Farman in the State records of Mayurbhanj. In a letter addressed to the Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, Orissa dated the 25th January, 1882 Maharaja Krishna Chandra Bhanja writes as follows —

“A copy of the sanad from the Emperor of Delhi to the Chief of Mohur bhanj, is herewith submitted, it establishes that the chief held under a feudal tenure from the Emperor. The original Sunnud was filed in Mr Wilkmeson's Court at Ranchee or Hazureebagh either by Raja Treebikram Bhunj or Jadoonath Bhunj”

"In the name of God, Great and Good

[illegible]

without the interference of any body—that no man or deputy in his territory has any authority whatever—that disregarding the order of any other ruler, the said Maharaja do exercise the same authority within his own country, with the titles he holds generation after generation as he does now save and except that when his services are required for any purpose, he will have to attend before us and carry out the orders

" Written on the 10th of Jamadial Awal in the 14th year of our reign

"(Sd) KAMANUDDIN KHAN HOSSEIN, BAHADOOR,

Wuzier, etc, etc.

" 19th Jamadiassani in the 14th year of our reign

Kamanuddin
Khan Hossein, Bahadoor,
Wuxier Mohamed Shah
Badshah

16th Ramjan, in the 14th year of our reign

* The correct name is Birbikramaditya Bhanja Deo and this is due to the mistake in reading Arabic b' for Persian Hindi P' like many instances in Ain-i-Akbari and Akbarnamah and as 'Farbada' for Baripada in Ain-i-Akbari and 'Durga Panj' for 'Durga Bhanj' in Akbarnamah.

" Received on the 11th Shawul in the 14th year of our reign

" Entered in the office of the Dewan Ala on the 15th Ramzan of the 14th year of our reign

" Compared Entered in the diary on the 25th Jamadial Awal of the 14th year

" Entered on the 17th Ramzan of the 14th year

" The great firman was written by order of His Majesty "

The text of this lost Farman is very similar to that of the Gopiballabhpur Farman of Mahammed Shah and so it may be that the brother of Maharaja Viravikramaditya Bhanja Deva and Mahanta Brindabananda Deva Gosvami or his representative went together to Delhi and got the Farmans Maharaja Baijnath Bhanja Deo of this Farman is no other than Maharaja Baidyanatha Bhanja Deva who was a disciple of Rasikananda Deva Gosvami and according to " Rasikamangala " he expired before 1630 when Shyamananda breathed his last at Kahnupara in Mayurbhanj State where there is his *Samadh*. The historical value of this Farman granted to Maharaja Viravikramaditya Bhanja Deva was doubtful before the discovery of the Gopiballabhpur Farman of Mahammed Shah now published for the first time

فرمان پادشاه غازی ابرارالفتح شاه نصرالدین محمد

بعرض اشرف اعلی رسید که سجاده نشین تصبیه گریه بلبه پور

تعلقه صوبه آدیسا به گریه اند مقرر بود او فوت شد بندگان متعلقه

مذکور امیدوارست که ارت بجای او سرفروزی یابد لهذا حکم جهانمناح آنتاب شعاع شرف تقاض یافت که سجاده

نشین تصبیه مذکور بلا شرکت غیره بدستور مقنونی مسطور بنام بندگان مذکور مقرر و مسلم باشد باید که مقصد از

صیانت حال و استقبال او را تسلیم بعد تسلیم و بمنای بعد بمنای سجاده نشین آنجا مستحق دانسته دیگر را سهم و شریک

او ندانند و نگر دانند و جمع لوازم و لواحق این کار بار متعلق شناخته وجه زمین و کنی و غیره هرچه از معول

از زمینداران و ادهکاران قلعه جات و محلات متعلقه صوبه مسطور تحت البلاه بیگانه متعوضت باو مید هانیده باشند

که صرف با احتیاج خود نوده بلا عبادت الهی و دعای بقای دولت ابدعت مواظبت می نوده باشند و قدم نمایند

که امدی بهیچ وجه من الوحدوة مزاحمت باو نرسانند درین باب تاکید دانند بتاریخ بیست و پنجیم شهر حاضی الاول

سال چهاردهم از خلوص والا نوشته شد -

RAJARAM AND THE PORTUGUESE

(By Cavalhero Panduranga Pissurlencar)

The tragic end of Sambhaji (March 1689) greatly provoked the Maratha chiefs who, gathering in council, decided to continue the war against the Mughals. At this critical moment they chose Rajaram as regent for Shahu, who was then six years old.

Rajaram, however, did not think it safe to oppose the Mughal forces in Maharashtra and therefore, left his native country and sought refuge in the far away fortress of Jingeo in Madras.

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these lands I should also do the same to him and remain careful setting the necessary watches so that he may not escape from the deserved punishment, as the good friendship and amicable relations which the Mughal Emperor has with this State demands it. I immediately sent an order to Desai Khem Saunt that he goes to your presence but he replied that as he was in mourning on account of the death of his mother, he could not start immediately, but that he would do so as soon as he had performed the death rites, and that, in the meantime, he had sent ahead his nephew Babu Dessai and Mamba Saunt with some people ordering him to mobilise others who were scattered over several places. I shall take care to order him to proceed with the greatest possible haste, since you tell me that you have resolved to send him to Kudal³ with your force, to destroy the enemy." Another letter of the above mentioned Governor, addressed to the same Nawab⁴ dated the 3rd of September 1789, reads thus "I have received both of your letters. One was delivered to me by Ahmad Sarangue and the other was brought by a vessel. In it you have asked me to keep the necessary watch both on land and sea in order to capture Rajaram who is said to be trying to escape into Karnatak, where he expects a treasure which should be seized. I received another letter from you on the same subject previously. In compliance with it I arranged for the required watches. Now, with this second warning, I shall have then reinforced so that he may not escape,

ship between the two kingdoms demands"

³ Vide J. Sarker, Hist. of Aurengzeb Vol V, p. 25, C. A. Kinkaid, Hist. of the Marathas

Notwithstanding the great vigilance of the Mughal Government, Rajaram succeeded in reaching Jinji⁵ safe and sound where he consolidated his power and assumed the title of King. It is there that various chiefs from Maharashtra went to render homage to him⁶ and among them were some Desais of South Konkan (then in the Portuguese Territory) who had revolted against the invaders⁷.

The Portuguese Viceroy wrote the following letter giving an account of the political situation to the King of Portugal dated at Goa, January 16th, 1691⁸ "As one of the chief causes of the calm and peace which this State at present enjoys is that our bordering states are divided and at war among themselves, I thought of rendering an account to Your Majesty of the successes of the war of the Mughal Emperor against Rajaram, Sambhaji's brother. The Mughal King after having captured Sambhaji put him to death and proceeded with the conquest of his territories, but as his brother Rajaram escaped from the mountain of Panhala which the Mughal had besieged, he ordered that a division of his army under his son Prince Sultan Tara should chase him. The Prince surrounded the Queen of Kanara who was reported to have allowed Rajaram to pass through her kingdom⁹ in such a way that the latter after taking several of her fortresses and entering her court at Bednur had compelled her to retreat and seek peace, surrendering three fortresses

for his intention was to conquer the Kingdom of Kanara as he had conquered those of Bijapur and Golconda, and, when he recalled the Prince, his son, to his presence, the prince did not obey his order, fearing that he would put him to death or imprison him as he had imprisoned his eldest brother, Shah Alam, for not having subjugated Konkan in 1684. The said prince Sultan Tara withdrew to a mountain which practically means that he rebelled against his Father.

"The Mughal Emperor encamped in a village near Bijapur whence he conducted the war, sending his bands of cavalry and infantry to places which seemed to him necessary, however and this as it is reported, cause the death of hun besides horses, elephants and camels. Owing to this he retired to a more distant at present with forces so diminished that an opportunity to use their cavalry and nts, carrying their hostilities in the lands

⁵ In Vol. XV, doc 347 of the work *Marathianchya Itih Sadhanem* by Rajwade there is a

of the Ghats Although they came in sight of the Moghul Emperor, they did not venture to attack him for the latter was well fortified with a great quantity of artillery. The Moghul Emperor and the King of Kanara formed a pact that they should never receive any assistance from the King of Kanara. The King of Kanara only wish that the wars to eat, have been per-
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"In order to pay such a large sum of money the Queen of Kanara has imposed heavy taxes on her subjects to their great vexation, and she has gone so far as to sell to Adarrayo, an enemy of the State, the fortress of Ullala situated on the river Barcelore, on the Malabar Coast, for three lakhs of pagodas which have been promised to her. But this has not been carried into effect yet, because the Queen wants that it should be given to her immediately, before even the fortress is handed over and Adarrayo insists that he would pay after taking possession. Would to God that they do not come to a settlement, for otherwise, it will be very troublesome for us to transport rice from Kanara.

"The failure of the Imperial Government to send reinforcements to the Moghul Emperor and the treacheries practised by the nobles of the Empire have convinced the Desais of Konkun of the decaying state of the Moghul power. They have accordingly withdrawn from the Moghals the allegiance that they had promised him and have gone over to the side of Rajaram. What has induced them to do so is that they belong to the same caste and religion as he and they could not tolerate the insolence with which the Muhammadans violated the Hindu women and profaned their temples thereby wounding their religious susceptibilities. Thus they have all risen against the Governor of Phonda Sirbaza Khan and General Abdul Riza Khan, who has returned from Kudal where he was posted at Bicholim. Both these Moghul officers are afraid of the power of Rajaram's men who have on several occasions plundered villages adjacent to Phonda and have once again besieged it. There have been several encounters in the operation [with the Imperialists]. They are without cavalry, for the few horses they had are dead and the General Abdul Riza Khan tried to ensure the safety of his wife and belongings by sending them to an Island situated on the river, with the permission of the Governor, our predecessor, who ordered facilities for his passage to be given. To the presence of the King he has taken away courtesy which has been shown to him during written to us to inform if we wanted anything concerning the State to be represented to his Royal Master. Availing ourselves of this offer and opportunity we have written through him a letter offering our congratulations for the Kingdoms that have been conquered and assuring him of our friendship and good relations.

"The facilities which have been offered to the Moghul Government for the passage of their subjects (through our territory) have also been allowed by us to the people of Rajaram. Previously on several occasions he wrote to the Governors Dom Rodrigo da Costa and Dom Miguel de Almeida, requesting them to renew the alliance of peace and friendship which this State formerly maintained with Shivaji's father. Of late years he has been repeating this request. We have responded to it with the same demonstrations of friendship (as we did in the case of the Moghals) in such a manner and with so great a care that both the vassals of the Moghul and those of Rajaram believe that this government is inclined to the interest of either. The affairs of these two princes remain in this state, and we think that the Desais and the other vassals of Rajaram, as they persist in the war, will become master of Phonda and Bicholim. It is more convenient to the State to have as neighbour the Hindus rather than the Mohomedans, for these never keep their word and are

insolent and more quarrelsome. Although to all outward seeming we are observing an attitude of neutrality and disinterestedness and none of them has shown any sign of discontent, we are always ready with our arms in hand".

The friendly relations with the Portuguese encouraged many officers of Rajaram, to leave their families in the Portuguese territory. Under the pretext¹⁰ that the Portuguese authorities, especially the general of the North, Tristao de Mello, were favouring the Marathas, the Mughal General Matabar Khan, who was encamped at Bhiundi, declared war on the Portuguese. Basing his accounts on the correspond-

and booty carried off from the Portuguese villages. But from the Portuguese documents one learns that the Mughal Emperor, in making amends for the damages caused to the Portuguese by the war, had ordered Matabar Khan to pay them an indemnity of two lakhs of rupees¹¹.

On the subject of this war, the Governor D. Rodrigo da Costa, in his letter dated the 24th January, 1690, said¹² "The Moghul is stationed with a large army at Bhiundi and Kalyan which is on the confines of the territory of Bassein, and several times attempted to pass through our territories. But it was never allowed, We excused ourselves with good excuses which will be of advantage to us while they serve their end, for, if they attempt to pass through, there is no one in India that can prevent it. Taking this into consideration I have sent to the North the entire force available in Goa keeping here companies with four six or eight soldiers, and these are useless and in such a state of misery that from everywhere comes to me a demand for men. There are no seamen, and the few that are here will bear testimony to my contention better". On the 12th of December 1693, the Viceroy Dom Pedro Antonio de Noronha thus wrote to the King of Portugal¹³ "The shortage of ships and people (in which I found the State), I bring to Your Majesty's notice because as there (in Mozambique) I was informed by the ships of Damaun, of the wars going on at Bassein, I soon resolved to go to its aid with the people about me, however neither God permitted that I should render this service to Your Majesty nor the country needed it for the war had already ceased".

The Viceroy Dom Pedro Antonio de Noronha left Mozambique on the 21st April, 1692 and reached India on the 25th May of the following year¹⁴. From this it may be concluded that the above war took place in 1692, and ended before the arrival of the Viceroy, who

"This year I activities to continue in

very much to proceed to the North to oppose him, the scantiness of our resources, and the reasons which the council of the State proposed to me in reply to the consultation which I ordered to be made over this matter frustrated the wish; the reason that it was not convenient to go (to war) to expose to the enemy the smallness of our resources appeared to be stronger than my desire. It was clear to me that

¹⁰ See, e.g., - On - - - - - 151-52

¹¹ Idem

Viceroy going in person to oppose him would necessarily mean that he should be accompanied by the entire forces at his disposal. It would also mean leaving Goa totally defenceless against any possible untoward event. When the news that I had from land instilled in me some suspicion, I resolved to send the Fleet immediately to the North with all the forces which the time and the affairs of the State permitted me (to collect) and then I sent General Antonio Machado with the charge of the general administration of the troops of the North for I could rely upon his valour, and disposition. I had also faith in favourable reports about him derived from private sources that he would be a great help to us in defending those lands and causing fright to the Enemy. Although, until now I have no news of his arrival, by the warnings that I am receiving neither the fears of an invasion are removed nor have any new developments occurred to make the war, for which we are prepared, a certainty. About the particulars of the said General Antonio Machado¹⁵ I have already informed Your Majesty and on this occasion I informed separately, of the reasons which moved me to send for him from Surat, for, apart from the fact that he has made a request to be heard and to be punished according to his guilt, a request which I cannot be convenient

to the court on 7th of January, 1694¹⁷

Y "As soon as I have information from Manuel Tavares de Gama, I reported to
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was preparing eighty vessels of war to fall upon the Island of Salsette under the jurisdiction of Bassein. I promptly ordered Belchior de Amaral de Menezes, Commander in Chief of the Fleet of the North to go in aid of that coast and prevent the enemy's intended landing in those parts. This succour arrived so opportune that I have been assured by some persons who have come from there that but for the promptness of our precaution the enemy would undoubtedly have succeeded in his accustomed treachery. With the same fear I sent another fleet under Captain Francisco Preira da Silva, consisting of two a ship and a frigate, and in it has sailed General Antonio Machado de Brito the Governor of those lands in the same way as on the other occasion went Dom Rodrigo da Costa who having arrived at Aul, repeated the news which already Manuel Tavares had sent to me viz, that the territories enjoyed greater peace.

Thus the war between the Portuguese and the Mughals came to an end. The Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb as we have said before ordered Matalab Khan to pay an indemnity of 2 lakhs of rupees for having invaded the Portuguese territories. In bringing this about the services of Abdul Riza Khan the then Mughal Governor of the Rairy proved to be very useful to the Portuguese government.¹⁸

However the officers of Aurangzeb suspected even after this that the Portuguese authorities had some pact with the Marathas. In order to dispel this suspicion the Viceroy, Count of Villa Verde wrote to the former Mughal Emperor

¹⁵ Vide Gemelli Careri

¹⁶ Livro das Moncoas do Reino No 57 fs 229v e 230

¹⁷ Idem fs 252

Shaik Mahamed the following letter dated November 29th, 1694: "Before I received your letter, I had been informed of the damage caused by the Shivajis (Maratha) near Karanja which you complain of and I keenly felt the loss you experienced and the Captain of Karanja should not have taken the precaution to prevent this plunder if he could. Since the time the Shivaji's war with us, we never concluded any truce or peace with them nor were they admitted into any of our ports, but, on the contrary, we are carrying on active war with them whenever we meet them, on the sea or land and as they captured some of our parangs (boats) last year, I ordered one of their ports to be destroyed, all the vessels they had there, and the entire population as well as their temples to be burnt. However I shall advise the Captain of Chaul to try to cause them all possible harm and hostility so that they may be obliged by the loss they suffered to restore to you what they have robbed²⁰."

A few days before this letter was despatched, the Marathas made an incursion into Bardez (Goa) and raised a tax from its inhabitants²¹. The Viceroy, Count of Villa-Verde made a strong protest against this act before Raji Sama Rao, to whom he addressed the following letter on the 13th November 1694. "By the letters which I received some time ago from you, Ramachondra Pandit, and Santaji Ghorpade, I concluded that you were friends of the State because every one so signified it to us, and asserted in those letters, however now I find it otherwise, since you entered our territories and came down the Ghats only for the sake of plunder. This action is so foul that I am astounded at it. Were it not for the faith with which the Portuguese are used to maintain their word I should have sent order to Chaul to seize the island of Kolaba and Kundry and prevent the supply of provision to the said islands, and to the other Marathas who are to be found in our territories of the North. It is certain that without much difficulty we could do great harm to the lands you possess there or cause trouble to your maritime possessions." You should beware of that. However the Portuguese never quarrel with their friends without just grounds and it seems to me that the incursion of your cavalry into the district of Bardez might be due to some indiscipline among your soldiers without your knowledge. There in order to ascertain the truth I request you to declare whether
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by withdrawing your men from our lands without leaving therein a single soldier, and seek peace from me which I shall not refuse, in case it is reasonable. Remember that the loss of all our neighbours was due always to non observance of it with us and this loss is sure to be greater still now on account of the great forces which I have, and the great reinforcements which have been received this year from Europe. I send this with Ram Krishna Barve who will explain at length what you must do. So I do not emphasise it"²²

It is not known what was the conclusion of the negotiations carried on by the Viceroy with the Marathas, through their envoy Rama Krishna Barve. Six months later, the Count of Villa Verde however in a letter addressed to Ganesh Raghunath, on the 15th June, 1695 said that he was ready to accept the friendship of prince Rajaram as his generals and officers were acting as true friends²³.

²⁰ Livro dos Reis Vizinhos No 6, fls 20v

²¹ Cfr. "for your men entered our lands robbed their inhabitants of their cattle which I suppose they returned, and received from the people three rupees per head." Letter of the Viceroy to Rajagya Sama Raza written on November 15, 1694 (Book Reis Vizinhos No 6 fls 19v).

²² Livro dos Reis Vizinhos No 6, fls 18v

²³ Idem, fls 24

THE DUTCH EXPEDITION AGAINST GHERIA, 1739.

[By Dr. S. N. Sen, M. A., Ph. D., B. Litt (Oxon.)]

On the 23rd March 1738, Sambhaji Angria's fleet met near Barcelore a small Dutch squadron of three vessels, the *Noorduolfs Bergen*, the *Zeelands Welvaren* and the *Magdalena*, then on its way to Mocha and boldly attacked it. After a sharp encounter that lasted for ten hours the *Zeelands Welvaren* and the *Magdalena* were forced to strike colours, the *Noorduolfs Bergen*, badly battered, retraced her southward course to seek safety at Cochim.¹ Her crew were totally exhausted and her artillery put out of action. The two captive ships lost nearly one third of their men and the survivors were carried to Sambhaji's headquarters at Gheria. The Dutch Commander of Malabar, Stein Van Gollennesse, demanded immediate restitution of the men and boats and compensation for the damage done, but Sambhaji replied with characteristic irony, "if you had made peace earlier, we would never have taken these, but now we met them in time of war. As to punishment which you propose, you have felt our power once or twice and in future you will know it ag-
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² How the Dutch retaliated Sambhaji's retort, quoted included between the Dutch

and the Angrias and in law as well as in fact they were at war till that Sunday morning in March, 1738, when Sambhaji's sea men encountered and worsted the Dutch men of war.

Exasperated beyond endurance the Dutch decided to strike at the centre of Sambhaji's power and next year a grand fleet of fifteen sails was mobilised under the command of Reimicus Siersma. The instructions issued to the Commander-in-Chief² briefly referred to the 'piratical' misdeeds of the enemy and offered detailed information about the fighting strength of every unit under his command. They went further and specifically laid down in what order the ships were to sail. This interesting document has not been so far published and may, therefore, be quoted in full. Such were the instructions framed for the benefit of Admiral Siersma.

"The Angrias, a nation of pirates in the North of Malabar latitude 16 & 19°, time in these countries, by their and since the last 10 to 20 years they have so grown in daring and strength that they have not desisted from attacking the formidable ships of European nations, and have captured several, as the English ship "*Derby*"³, they attacked the frigate *Adriana*, and the ship "*Noord uoolfs Bergen*" from Cochim, the yacht and the sloop *Zeelands Welvaren*" and "*Magdalena*", all three destined for Mochia, the same year. The *Adriana* alone could by heroic resistance save herself under the forts of Soendadoenga⁴ belonging to Siwagie,⁵ but the last three having left the harbour of Cochim together, to sail to Mochia, were attacked in the neighbourhood of Goa on 23rd March, and were

¹ For details see Sen *The Angrias and the Dutch Calcutta Review* February 1938

² Sen, *ibid*

³ The three Dutch documents quoted in this paper are in the custody of the Madras Government. I am indebted to the Rev. Father Fruytier of Madras for the English translation.

⁴ Captured in 1735

⁵ Obviously Sundhudurg or Malwan then under the jurisdiction of the Raja of Kolhapur

⁶ Van Gollennesse calls Khem Savant of Wari a Siwagie probably because technically he was a feudal noble of the Kolhapur State

forced to take flight after their crew had fallen into the hands of the pirates¹, as is described minutely in the enclosed copy of the declaration of the officers of the ships 'Noorduolfs Bergen'.

We have not failed to demand the restoration of the lost ships, and to claim a reasonable satisfaction but these pirates have not only refused this but answered in an insulting way

The Honourable Company have on this account decided by an order of 3rd August, 1738 to take such measures and actions to repress the aforesaid pirates and to secure fair satisfaction for the offence against the Company, and to use such force as will in future make the Company's power respected. Therefore in compliance with the Honourable Company's proposal, we have mobilised a formidable squadron composed in the following manner —

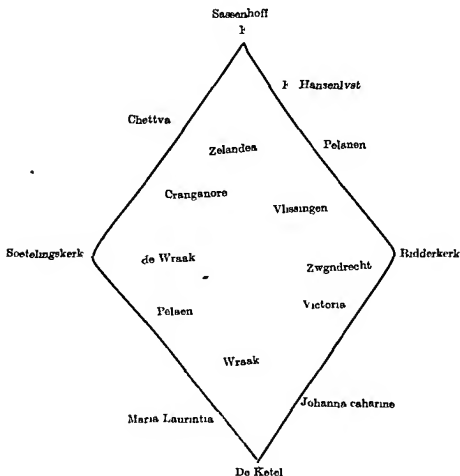
Ships	Canon	Sailors	Military	Military Native Soldiers	Total
Sassenhoff	46	85	87	53	225
Soetelingskerke	34	100	78	85	283
De Ketel	44	90	64	84	228
Pelanen	36	69	29	44	142
Hansenlust	24	70	28	90	188
Ridderkerk	26	60	27	41	130
Johanna Catharina	18	47		15	62
Zelandea	16	29		15	44
Welvaren	22	15			15
Zwyndrecht	10	17	7		24
Vlissingen	8	15	7		22
Chettua	8	15	7		22
Cranganoro	8	15	7		22
Victoria	4	28	1		28
Do Wraak	9	24	1		24

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¹ As mentioned above only the *Noorduolfs Bergen* succeeded in escaping the other two were captured by Angria.

² Quoted in the *Calcutta Review* February, 1938

this letter to go aboard the flagship "*de Sassenhoff*" and to take command of the Company's ships, and sail in the following fighting order —



Reaching Cannanore you shall ask the Commander to order the sloop *Maria Laurentia* to join the squadron and bring two hundred men already recruited for the expedition

In Cannanore your Honour will have to change the order of your ships in such a way as to prevent the ships of the pirates, which are generally at this coast, from escaping

The "*Soetelingskerke*" a powerful ship, and the yacht "*Anna Catharine*"

it delivered in the most efficient way

Also it will be necessary for your Honour to gather all possible information as to where the pirates are at present in hiding, how strong they are, so that you may conduct your campaign accordingly

If the "*Soetelingskerke*" is attacked, which we certainly do not apprehend, your Honour shall send to her assistance some of the ships, of which you have a sufficient number, so that the above mentioned ship may not suffer any serious loss. If, for some reason or other, losses are sustained, the ships shall be put ashore and handed over to the Resident Christiaan Geyselaar and Hendreck Isaacs.

Having carried out all these instructions as promptly as possible, your Honour shall sail directly to the capital of the Angreans, Bissenté¹, otherwise known as Gerry², situated near Carepatam³, 16° longitude, and the squadron will anchor there with a sea man's precaution.

The Company's letter shall again be forwarded to the Chief of this nation in the most suitable manner asking for a written answer within twenty four hours as to whether the Company's demands will be complied with or not.

If they seem to be prepared to come to a reasonable agreement your Honour shall invite them to the flagship and begin discussions, and you shall take special care not to be misled by a people that knows no honour or justice, and not to waste precious time in lengthy conferences. Your Honour will have to strictly adhere to the above mentioned demands, and may alter a few small items as specified by E. Siersma in a secret instruction under urgent necessity alone.

If the pirates refuse to answer, then your Honour shall immediately take all steps to punish the pirates effectively having first consulted your Council as to what in the prevailing circumstances should be done to maintain the prestige of our nation and the honour of the Honourable Company. Your Honour should decide whether the enemy is to be attacked in his chief fort Bissenté and bombarded or whether a landing is to be made in some convenient place, and every thing in the country should be destroyed with the help of some companies of marines. Your Honour should take special care to destroy or burn all the ships of the pirates on your way out and back and in the bay, so that in future they will fear the Company and let her ships pass unmolested.

As it is not possible to give your Honour precise instructions for all eventualities we leave to your discretion all that your Honour may think necessary for efficiently conducting the campaign after ascertaining the views of your Council in important matters by a majority of votes. The Council shall consist of Mr. Reinicus Siersma, Major Commander, the Captain Jan Dinke N. Vander Beugghen and Christoffel Fuitseus and Lieutenant Jan George Gomentel and Jan Francis Lasval and the Ensigns Marcus Eicke, Joan Rytel, August William Goris and Hendrick J. Tollenaar and the Captain of the yacht "*Catharina*" Steven Bado.

Your Honour may remain there till the end of March, but if through circumstances a longer stay is needed to arrive at a final agreement, you may prolong your stay for 19 days or till the middle of April, but in that case we should like that the ship "*de Ketel*" be returned as her services will be required.

judgment, and that they shall bear in mind that they are fighting for the East India Company and they shall serve in such a manner that we may be able to commend them for their courage to the Honourable Company.

¹ A bad corruption of Vijaidurg. Father Fruytier informs me that the reading is somewhat doubtful.

² Gheria.

³ Kharepatan.

Those who are found wanting in the service and may have compromised themselves through indiscipline and misconduct will have nothing but an exemplary punishment to expect so that fear may be instilled into others

We likewise remind you to keep in account of every thing, specially of the situations of sea ports and bays, rivers and forts, and all that may be useful if we are forced to pay another visit Your Honour shall also keep us informed of passing events if you have an opportunity either via Barasloor or Crananoor or direct

The papers for your Honour's guidance are the following

Ordinances of the Commander Wolfsbergen dated 25th March, 1738

Journal of the yacht *Adriana* on her journey to Wingirala¹, dated 1736

A translation of certain English letter and some charts

ships according to their need, especially gunpowder

Copy of a letter of the undersigned Commander to the English Commander Mr Stephen Laith², in which the conditions are described on which the company will make peace with the Angreans English papers delivered to the Chief of the expedition and other ordinances wherein we advise your Honour to keep the strictest discipline among the men and to secure this we expect the officers to set a good example You shall take special care that religion and daily prayers are upheld and observed so that your undertakings may receive God's blessing for the expected success which your dear friends wish you from all their heart

COCHIN,

(Sd) G W VAN IMHOFF

8th February 1739

J V STEIN VAN GOLLENESSE

Siersma was also provided with two drafts of the conditions under which peace might be concluded with Sambhaji and the articles of treaty which he was expected to accept The instructions left the Dutch Commander little discretion about the terms to be offered to the Angria chief, but a cursory glance at the documents, quoted below, will convince the reader of their peremptory character A man of Sambhaji's temper could hardly be expected to accept such humiliating terms unless he was reduced to the last extremities, but strong as the Dutch fleet appeared it was hardly powerful enough to wipe out the Maratha fleet from the high seas and to reduce the rock girt naval strongholds of the Maratha Admiral that had so long defied the might of the other seafaring people of the coast Although the instructions quoted above mention only a fair satisfaction for the loss sustained the drafts aim at nothing less than the reduction of the Angria chief to a state of complete vassalage

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'Conditions of the Treaty on which the Commander of the expedition against the people of Angrea and the Chief Sambasy Angre Sarkel may conclude peace

1 Sambasy Angrea Sarkel shall agree by a solemn deputation to Cochim to

"Zeelands Weltaren" and the 'Magdalena' in the year 1735, later transported to Mochia

¹ Wingirala

² Stephen Law, Governor of Bombay 1739-1742 granted regular commission in 1738

2 The above mentioned captures must be restored and the loss sustained in the last case of Rs 80,000 be paid, but losses caused to several of the Company's ships on other occasions will be excused

3 Compensation shall be given to all the men who are still detained in Sambasy Angrea's territory from the lowest to the highest without any deduction for the rations given

All such goods shall be restored which the Commander of the fleet or other members of the fleet can prove to have been robbed, either through an inventory or otherwise by arbitration

4 If the above mentioned ships are still in existence Sambasy Angrea shall be bound to return them, and if they are out of repair they must be repaired so that they may be brought to Cochin. The expenses of the repairs may be deducted from the above mentioned sum of Rs 80,000. For other damages a sum of Rs 10,000 must be paid provided that the equipment, cannons and ammunition as per inventory are returned as well as materials, such as sails etc needed for navigation

5 Sambasy Angrea shall bear the expenditure of the expedition and pay the Company Rs 100,000 (One hundred thousand) or an annual contribution of Rs 10,000 (Ten thousand), which amount shall be paid yearly at Cochin before the end of April

6 The present Chief of the Angreans and his successors to the Government of the State shall every year, through a solemn deputation to Cochin, solicit the continuation of the Company's friendship and encourage the same. The Company shall show the deputation the same honours as are done to their Malabar allies

7 All ships of Angrea shall, if they meet the Company's ships on the sea, lower their flag and strike their sails until they have made themselves known to the Company's ships, in such a manner as will be laid down in a separate agreement

8 The ships of the Company shall be allowed to enter the harbours, bays and rivers belonging to Sambasy Angrea, without payment of the harbour dues or any other levy and the people of Sambasy Angrea shall be bound to supply the above mentioned ships on payment, all their needs and whatever products they find

9 The Company's ships in case of attack shall not only be allowed to take shelter under Sambasy Angrea's forts but he shall be bound to protect them with his guns and to assist them with all his power without any fear of treachery as the Company never break their plighted word

10 If per chance, the Company's ships run the risk of being wrecked near Sambasy Angrea's lands which the good God may avert then shall Sambasy Angrea and his subjects be bound to render them all help, without claiming the existing rights¹ or anything else, except a reasonable reward for those who assisted the Company's ships or saved the men or goods, to be granted at the discretion of the Commander at Cochin

11 If the above conditions are faithfully observed, the Company will not take any further action for the loss of their ships caused by Sambasy Angrea and his subjects. If the Company's ships are attacked and captured, and if it is permitted, the Company will be held responsible for compensation for

¹ According to the prevailing customs of the coast the sovereign of the territorial waters was entitled to all the ships wrecked within his jurisdiction with all their cargo. See Sen, *Military System of the Marathas* Chapter XIII

guns and other goods lost in former years will be again demanded. If, however, the friendship between the two countries be in force for 15 years the fairness there

of

(Given at the City of Cochim, 8th February)

(Sd) G W VAN IMHOFF

V STEIN VAN GOLLENESSE

II

Articles of the Treaty and agreement between the Honourable plenipotentiary of the East India Company and the accredited Ambassadors of Sambasy Angrea Sarkel, based on the several articles of the Treaty above mentioned as to how passing ships have to make themselves known

1 The ships of the Company shall be furnished with a special pass which shall be completed with a seal and the signature of the Governor of Cochim with such yearly alterations to prevent imitation as the Company shall approve and consider necessary and to which Sambasy Angrea Sarkel shall agree. A copy of this pass shall be given every year to the Ambassadors, whom Sambasy Angrea Sarkel is bound under the above article to send yearly to Cochim and if, through unforeseen circumstances, this cannot be done then shall the ships of the Company sailing for Cochim in the next favourable monsoon be given the pass of the previous year, and Sambasy Angrea shall by letter be informed of the same and whether the letter is received or not, he, well aware of the fact, that the Ambassadors have not proceeded to Cochim, and, therefore, passes have not been renewed shall be bound to accept the passes of the previous year as if they were renewed and make no objection as good faith demands

2 That, since some ships may not touch at Cochim, and may therefore not be furnished with passes, ships of Sambasy Angrea not excluded, the article of the general treaty as a whole, which gives the ships freedom of passage will in their case come into force. When the Company's ships show their flag to the Angreans homage will be paid to them in the following manner

3 As it is not safe to rely upon show of flags which can be made use of for its own profit so that in many cases there may be uncertainty we have found it expedient to order that the ships of Sambasy Angrea will be allowed to approach within a gunshot's distance of the bow of the Company's ships, and also to hoist the Dutch flag, as provided in the above article 7

The Company's ship or ships having been sighted they shall be bound to turn to the wind, and put out a boat when they see that one of the Commander is on the way, the boats on either side shall not have more than 7 or 9 oars and no more men than is necessary for such a boat, and no weapons or anything that may cause suspicion besides a man at the rudder, and an officer to hand in the message. The above mentioned boat shall meet the Company's boat showing her pass, and the officer shall inspect the Angrean original or copy of the pass. The boats will return to their own ships, and Sambasy Angrea's ship shall leave immediately

4 The same procedure is approved for the Company's ships which have no pass with this difference, that such a ship must have a general sea pass or a letter with the Company's seal, and shall have to show this to the officer of Sambasy Angrea, and every thing shall be done in the same manner as ordered for other ships so as to have a clear idea as to what part of India the ships may sail

The ships of Sambasy Angrea wishing to hold as possible to enable the men to return to their sh^{ould} should not take place, as the rules of prudence, contrary shall have to take the consequences whereby the treaty with Sambasy Angrea shall be broken, unless it clearly proves to be a mistake, and immediate satisfaction is given for the damage done

6 That this may happen less often, and that both sides may realise this better, all ships of the Company which pass by Cochim shall be given an authentic letter of inst ution, and Sambasy Angrea shall be bound to do the same to all the captains of his ships so that they may not plead ignorance thereof

(Given in the City of Cochim, 8th February 1739)

(Sd) G W VAN IMHOFF

J V STEIN VAN GOLLENESSE

The terms were humiliating and hard and nothing but a shattering defeat would induce Sambhaji to accept them. The Dutch could make common cause with other European powers in India to enforce their claims. The Angria had been at open war with the English since 1718. The Angria's fleet was also involved in the hostilities that then prevailed between the Maratha empire and the Portuguese State and the Portuguese had experienced some bad reverses in the very waters over which they had once exercised unchallenged authority. They welcomed the Dutch fleet at Agoada with open arms and suggested that all European nations should pool their resources in a joint effort against the common adversary. Why the negotiations made no progress we do not know. It was certainly not for any lack of sincerity on the part of the Portuguese. Probably the Dutch had a poor opinion of them, or perhaps the memory of the Anglo-Portuguese expedition of 1721 stood in the way of a fresh alliance with another European power. In any case the Dutch fleet sailed to the Angrian waters. The Chief Commander was authorised to land a fighting force in Angria's territories, or to bombard his strongholds or to seek the enemy on the sea. But his movements henceforth are obscure. It is clear that Siersma's grand expedition, on which his official superiors had built such high hopes, accomplished nothing. Obviously he had not landed his troops and it is apparent that he returned to Cochim without fighting Sambhaji's fleet. Van Gollenesse made a veiled reference to the ill success of the expedition in a memorandum on Indian affairs prepared for the perusal of Siersma himself. "What happened between the Hon'ble Company and those pirates, how they captured the Ceylon and Cochim yachts and how their Right Worshipfuls wished to take revenge by sending a considerable squadron to that place in the year 1739 under your Worship's Command and what

way until they make honourable amends".¹ Despite the best efforts of the Dutch the Angria waxed stronger and stronger until in 1742 his Captains boldly entered the roadstead of Calcut, the southernmost point hitherto reached by them, with seven big and twenty three small ships and inflicted immense loss on the merchant-shipping, foreign and indigenous. The Dutch could do little to curb Sambhaji's power and the conquest of Gheria was left for another maritime nation of the west with whom they had once contested for the supremacy of the sea.

¹ Galletti, Burg and Groot, *The Dutch in Malabar*, page 69

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

Page	Para.	Line	Read	for
12		30	was fixed	fixed
12	Footnote		Nuzvid	Nuzud
13	1	5	' comma ' after	' 50 per cent '
13	1	21	' comma ' after	" Foujdar "
13	1	6	cart	car
14	1	4	crop	crp
14	1	8	delete " comma '	after " peahkars
14	2	17	detele comma '	after ' Tahsildars
14	2	22	comma "	after (i e , 1801 1803)
14	2	23	to	in
14	Footnote	No 2	1802 03, No. 454, page 454, para 55	1809, No 3570, page 256 et seq
14	Footnote	No 2	1809 No 3570, page 256 et seq	1808 No 3583 page 56 et seq
15	1	16	' comma '	after ' sales
15	Footnote	No 1		
15	Footnote	line 2	1809	1899
15	Footnote	No 2	22 23	2 23
15	Footnote	line 3		
16	1	16	laissez faire	Laissez fare
16	Footnote	No 2	2 Tinnevely	22 Tinnevely
16	Footnote	line 1		
17	Footnote	No 3	delete all the lines except the first	
82	6	3	Mugaddam	Mugaddams
83	1	6	conduct	conduct
83	2	line 2 in the tabular statement		
84	5	8	figure	figures
85	2	2	suspense	suspence
85	5	7	anomalous	anomalous
86		5	unhesitatingly	unhesitatingly
99	3 (first word of)	3	to	in
100	2	9	Jakhara	JakRera
100	2	14	Snaps	maps
100	3	1	well	were
100	3	9	far	par
101	1	1	cloth	Cloth
101	1	11	Amloh	The Amloh
101	5	3	As	But
101	5	3	Mohan Lal	and Mohan Lal
114		29	districts	district
114	1	7	an	and
117		3	Gram	gram
120	4	1	succeeding	succeeding
123	Title of the author		Dr K. K. Basu, M A Ph D	Mr K. K. Basu M A ,
130			Kalkinkar Datta	Kalkinkar Datta
132	3	1	Gunams	Gunams
132	5	15	Muvadavad	Muradavah
133	1	2	(2) after Subah	
133	1	7	(3) after nation	
133	2	11	(9) after bought up "	
134		6	(3) after ' insolent	
135	1	8	concocted	connected
136	2	4	serhaud	serband
139	Footnote	No 1	Rai Brij Raj Krishna, M A B L	Rai Brij Raj Kishen
139	Footnote	line 2		
139	Footnote	No 2	had entered	entered
139	Footnote	line 3		

Page	Para	Line	Read	for
139	Footnote	No 3 line 1	Musidal Insha	Musidal Insha
141	Footnote	No 11	king Basudeva Varain	kin Basudayan
141	Footnote	No 1 ^o	Puritan	Pautan
142	1	10	Patna	Masena
142	2	13	add and	after in
143	1	16	completely	complete by
143	2	10	add they	after and
146	1	2	commands	commends
148	Abbreviations	T S C ch	Tazkira i salatni	Tazkua i salatin
148	Abbreviations	M R A	Muquddime i Ruqqaat	Mugaddame i Ruqqalt
148	Abbreviations	T N I	by Husain Ali Ashuq	by Lala Brindaban Das
148	Abbreviations	h h	Muntakhab ul Wahat	Muntakhab ul Wahat
149		3		
150	3	3	(comprised of) F J Mal	F J (comprised of) Map
150	3	6	Ajma	Aima
150	3	7	Raghu Singh	Rangu Singh
150	3	7	Fotakhana	Fotakhana
150	4	3	after	by
151	1	3	Sackar	Sircar
151	8		Raghu Singh	Rungu Singh
152	1	17	The following to be added Son of of Kalyan a Khetwari general of the Lahari Raja	after Rupkaran
152	Footnote	No 5	refers to	belonging to
153	1	2	reduced	refused
153	2	1	Edw	Edw
153	(b)	1	Browne	Brown
154	2	1	Sometimes with ment n	sometimes mention
154	Footnote	No 12	Indian Tracts	Indian Tracts
154	Footnote	No 14	1876	1876
155		1	Subahdar	Subehdar
155	Footnote	No 17	delete	upon chatwari tenures
155	Footnote	No 17	the following to be added These set tlers were generally the convicted prisoners of the State	after the sentence ending with the word Govern ment
156	2	18	to	for
156	Footnote	No 22	representative	representatives
156	Footnote	No 23	Dafstar	Diftars
165		6	restoration	restoration
165		15	relate	relates
168	3	9	add relating to	after military
170	1	1	Bahmani	Bahmani
170	1	1	Wazir	Wazir
171	6	6	Bahmani	Bhamnai
172		13	Kisabdar	Kisabdar
172		14	Raisul Kuttab	Reisu i Kuttab
174	Appendix	No 29	Sa id	Sa id
174	Appendix	No 37	Maulana Abdur Rahman Jami	Maulana Abdur Rahman Jami
175	Appendix	No 43	Ahrar	Abraar
175	Appendix	No 50	Gujrat	Gujarat
175	Appendix	No 52	Sayids	Sydes
175	Appendix	No 54	Balghar	Balghar
175	Appendix	No 70	Sharfu d din	Sharafu d din
175	Appendix	No 81	Alaf Khan	Alaf khaan
178	1	5	delete 'when it was known to them	
178	6	1	delete ' it is proposed also to give out these figures	
179	3	17	Occupied by	occupied
179	-	1	Taking the evidence of	'taking
182	Title	2	add ' and Mr V Raghavendra Rao M A B T	after Dr M H Krishna
196	2	13	Europe	The Emperor

Page.	Para	Line	Read	for
201	1	1	Shiwaji	Showaji
201	1	2	discouraged	dis discouraged
201	4	1	treatise	treaties
202	1	2	Nagaur	Nagpur
204	Footnote No 6		Vol 7 4	Vol 7, 4
204	Footnote	No 30	3, 99 100	3, 99 100
209	Footnote	No 35	Later Mughals	idem Mughals
211	Footnote	No 54	add 'meeting'	after 'another'
223	1	5	now	then
226	1	6	Cochin	Cochim
229	Figures	16	25	24
229	3	3	of	o'
230	Chart	2	Hans nlust	Hansenlvst
230	Chart	2	Chettva	Chettva
230	Chart	3		delete 'Palanen'
230	Chart	5	Soetlingskerke	Soetlingskerk
230	Chart	5	de Wraak	De Wraak
230	Chart	5	Zwyndrecht	Zwyndrecht
230	Chart	6	Pelanen	Pelaen
230	Chart	7	Welvaren	Wraak
230	Chart	8	Maria Laurentia	Maria Laurintia
230	Chart	8	Johanna Catharine	Johanna Caherine
231	1	6	Hendrick	Hendreck
231	6	8	yacht	yatch
232	2	4	Cananoor	Carananoor
235	3	19	Cochin	Cochim
235	3	22	yachts	yatchts

PART III.

**PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEMBERS' MEETING OF THE INDIAN
HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION**

Proceedings of the Members' Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at the Guest House Baroda on Sunday the 22nd December 1940 at 9-30 a m

PRESENT

- 1 Sir JADUNATH SARKAR M A C I E , HON' D LITT (*Chairman*)
- 2 Dr Sir SHAHAT AHMAD KHAN M A D LITT
- 3 Dewan Bahadur Dr S KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR M A HON' PH D M R A S
- 4 Dr GULSHAN LAL CHOPRA M A PH D B A LLW Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab
- 5 Mr B B CHAKRABARTI B A B L Keeper of the Records of the Government of Bengal
- 6 Dr B S BALIGA M A PH D (Lond) Curator Madras Record Office
- 7 Khan Bahadur A F M ABDUL ALI T R S L M A (Additional Member)
- 8 Dr S N SEN M A PH D B LITT (Oxon) Keeper of the Records of the Government of India (*Secretary*)

(For the list of the co-opted members please see pages 7—10, Part I)

Before the proceedings commenced Professor Potdar handed to the Secretary the following resolution

Resolved that the Indian Historical Records Commission endorse in general the report of Dr S N Sen the Keeper of Imperial Records on the Peshwa Daftar submitted to this session and urges upon the Government of Bombay to take necessary steps to implement the recommendations and suggestions therein (See item No 13 page 24)

The Chairman disallowed it as it had not been previously circulated. The agenda of the meeting was then taken up at 9 30 a m and discussions continued up to 12 noon. The result of the discussions on each item is noted below —

1 Vote of condolence on the death of the following corresponding members of the Indian Historical Records Commission

- (i) Rai Bahadur Kanaklal Barua (corresponding member),
- (ii) Ven W K Lirminger (ordinary member in 1919)
- (iii) Sir E Denison Ross (Late Keeper of the Records of the Government of India and corresponding member)
- (iv) Dr Balkrishna M A Ph D F R E S F S S F R Hist S (late Principal Raja Ram College Kolhapur and corresponding member)

The Chairman observed that Rai Bahadur Kanaklal Barua devoted himself to the History of Kamrup or ancient Assam and wrote a learned book on the subject

Ven W K Lirminger was known widely for his scholarly work in connection with the district records of Bengal and his edition of the *Fifth Report*. He was one of the pillars of the Calcutta Historical Society. Both he and Sir E Denison Ross

contributed to the columns of its journal throwing much light on the early History of British India. Sir E. D. Ross was the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India and started the series of Calendars of Persian Correspondence.

Dr. Balkrishna was an active member of our Commission and I greatly regret his premature death. He was a personal friend of mine.

The following resolution was moved from the Chair and passed unanimously, all members standing in silence —

Resolution 1—This Commission deeply mourns the death of Rai Bahadur Kanaklal Barua Ven. W. K. Firminger, Sir E. Denison Ross and Dr. Balkrishna and authorises the Secretary to convey to their relatives a message of sympathy and condolence on behalf of the Commission.

2. Review of the action taken on the Resolutions of the Commission passed at their Sixteenth session held at Calcutta in December 1939 and on some passed at previous sessions (please see pages 17—19)

Being called upon by the Chairman the Secretary read out the resolutions passed at the sixteenth session and the action taken on them was generally approved.

With regard to resolution V about the appointment of a Committee for the selection of papers to be read Professor Nilakanta Shastri enquired whether it was for this Commission to determine the procedure for the conduct of its business or for the Government of India to lay down the rules according to which we should do our work. He added that the Commission should move the Government of India to leave the matter to it and suggested that the papers offered might as well be circulated to some of the members and their opinions on them communicated to the secretary. Khar Bahadur A. F. M. Abdul Ali suggested that the papers could be scrutinised by circulation without any cost to Government except a little postage. Mr. D. N. Banerjee objected to the suggestion of Khar Bahadur for circulation would mean delay more so in the case of any disagreement between two members scrutinising them. The secretary pointed out that the scrutiny of papers was one of the normal functions of the Local Standing Records Sub-Committee. It was appointed in 1923 by the Government of India consisting of three members and the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India as *ex officio* secretary. When two of the three members left India Sir J. N. Sarkar alone had to do the work. So long as the office was at Calcutta it consisted of local men only. The change of the headquarters and enlargement of the programme of the office necessitated the reconstitution of the Committee to meet the additional requirements. The Local Records Sub-Committee now consists of the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, the Under-Secretary of the Political Department whosoever he may be, Dr. Spear and the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India as *ex officio* secretary. The secretary further explained that the existing procedure is essential in view of the decision to print the papers in advance for circulation among members in the form of a brochure. He expressed apprehension that any change in it was sure to cause inconvenience and delay upsetting the whole programme of work of the Commission. The Chairman then called for a concrete proposal. Professor Nilakanta Shastri then moved that the papers to be read at the next session should be scrutinised by a Committee consisting of Sir Jadunath and the Secretary.

Khan Bahadur A F M Abdul Ali I beg to move that the words 'next session' be replaced by 'for the following sessions'

Dewan Bahadur S H Aiyanger I wish to point out that in the communication from the Government of India it is stated "that it is not desirable to include in its personnel any member who is not ordinarily a resident of New Delhi" The object is quite clear They do not want any expenditure on it

Chairman In the past I have done it in very short time and the postal expenditure never exceeded Rs 6 and not a single paper was lost I may point out that I was not posted at Calcutta at that time except for two years

Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan One point I should like to stress is that the procedure should be elastic

The resolution was carried *nem con*

With regard to resolution VI the Chairman observed that though there were many valuable records in some States we should move very cautiously in this matter through the Political Department The representatives of the Indian States attending our Commission may take the initiative in making their respective States interested in the work of the Commission

Regarding Resolution V of the 10th session (Poona) Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan said that the same resolution was adopted at his instance in 1922 18 years ago at Delhi requesting the Government of the United Provinces to set up a Record Office Since then the Provincial Government have not taken any action in this matter and now that the war has come there is no prospect of a fresh resolution of a similar nature having better effect in the near future The Secretary explained that under the present constitution the Government of India could not force their opinion on any provincial government The President observed that the situation was that the U P Government told us that in half the districts all older records were destroyed during the Mutiny of 1857-58 and the records there available were not older than 1858 but it was explained to us by a member at the Poona session that some records of an earlier date had been saved but these were kept in various places If action is taken to collect these records in district offices or to place them in custody of one of the universities for a temporary period then they would be saved from further deterioration and in course of time the suggestion should be put up to the Government of the United Provinces by Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan without going to the formality of passing any resolution Dr Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan referred to the difficulties of the research scholars in getting access to the records in the custody of the U P Government He said that nothing could be expected about the establishment of a Record Office in U P till the war was over In this connection he also said Two of my research scholars are now working in the Imperial Record Department and they have testified to the facilities which have been increased and offered to them since Dr Sen took over charge Dr R C Majumdar said We convey our thanks to the Secretary

3 Indexing of records in the custody of the Provincial Governments and Indian States

Mr B B Chakrabarti, Keeper of the Records of the Government of Bengal has suggested that all pre nineteenth century records in British India and India

States should be indexed in preference to Calendaring and Presslisting and that the work should be expedited with the co operation of the University teachers and research students

Explanatory note—At the instance of the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India the subject of indexing manuscript records was brought up for discussion before the Calcutta session of the Commission in December 1939. A set of rules was drawn up for the guidance of the indexer with reference to what may be called the mechanical and formal part of the work and a few index slips prepared according to these rules were placed before the members for their scrutiny. In pursuance of the Resolution II of the Sixteenth Session which approved of the proposed scheme of indexing an index to some of the Land Revenue Records in the custody of the Imperial Record Department has been prepared and printed a copy of which is placed on the table. Eminent scholars belonging to different Universities of India who were kind enough to examine the index are of opinion that it will fully meet the needs of research students and eliminate the necessity for calendaring. The Provincial Governments and the Indian States may be requested to arrange for the preparation of indexes to their pre mutiny records on the same lines.

In introducing the proposal the Chairman observed that Calendaring was the best method of dealing with records and that calendars were more useful than presslists or indexes. Calendaring was a slow process and this was he observed one of the reasons why it did not progress in the Imperial Record Department. He referred to the publications made by the Madras Record Office. As that office has already printed its records *in extenso* upto 1753 and is now engaged on calendaring the records of the subsequent period upto 1800 he suggested that that office might be excluded from the scope of the proposed resolution.

The Secretary observed that the records which the Imperial Record Department had to deal with were enormously voluminous and that it was not possible to print them *in extenso*. It should not be forgotten that research students will have ultimately to go to the original records whether they are calendared or indexed. Calendars consist mainly of summaries of records and no summary can be so exhaustive as to replace the original records. A properly prepared index will bring out everything that a particular document may contain and a research student will find without any difficulty from an index like the one placed on the table what information he can expect from a particular record. Moreover indexing can be standardised but calendaring cannot be standardised. Calendaring can most satisfactorily be done when the work is undertaken by a single person with the proper intellectual equipment but it is hardly a practical proposition to entrust to any single individual the calendaring of any big series of records in the Imperial Record Department. He also reminded the Commission that only last year the Commission had unanimously recommended to the Government of India a scheme of indexing the pre mutiny records of the Political Department.

The following resolution moved from the chair was carried

Resolution II—In view of the fact that the Madras Government have printed their records up to 1753 and have the calendaring of records from 1753-65 well in hand besides having made still further progress with the calendaring of the Revenue Records this Commission recommends that work at Madras should continue on the present lines. With regard to the other provinces and the Government of India

as calendaring is more costly and takes longer time than indexing and indexing will serve the immediate needs of research students this Commission recommends to the other provincial governments and to the Government of India to arrange for the preparation of indexes of their pre mutiny records on the lines of the *Index to the Land Revenue Records 1830-37* recently issued by the Imperial Record Department which the Commission considers to be very helpful

Resolution II(a)—The Commission further recommends that the work on these lines at the Imperial Records may be expedited by the provision of adequate funds for the purpose and that a copy of this resolution be sent to the Indian States through the usual official channel inviting their co operation by starting the indexing of their historical records on similar lines

4 Best method of preservation of Records

Explanatory note—Preservation of old records is one of the problems which has been engaging the attention of the Imperial Record Department for some time past. In the absence of any scope for conducting researches on the subject the department sought the advice of several learned institutions in India and the Record offices of England and U S A where extensive investigations have been made about all the cognate problems. It appears that deterioration of paper is caused by—

- (1) Chemical changes brought about by moisture and atmospheric gases
- (2) Acid fumes condensing on dust particles
- (3) Ordinary wear and tear

and the ideal process of repair should be one which takes all these factors into account and adds to the strength of the paper and retard the process of deterioration due to (1) and (2)

It has been found that the reinforcing of brittle records with chiffon or Japanese tissue paper now in vogue in this country does not entirely serve this purpose. The National Archives of U S A concluded after a thorough investigation that cellulose acetate foil if laminated by a hydraulic press adds most to the life and strength of old papers. This method entirely eliminates the need of adhesives and adequately protects the paper so treated from the harmful effects of atmospheric gas and rough handling.

Another serious problem that confronts an archivist is that of preventing the ravages of insect pests. Constant warfare has to be waged against their inroads. The cellulose in paper and fabric attracts some species of voracious insects and others are particularly fond of such book components as glue starch etc. Laborious researches conducted in U S A have now satisfactorily established that the most effective way to combat these pests is to fumigate the papers affected in a vacuum vault. Manuscripts have to be placed in a gas tight steel chamber where a large proportion of the air has to be removed and replaced with a gas lethal to insects. The fumigant penetrates into pores and interstices and kills the insects as well as their larvæ within a short time. Bundles containing records need not be opened when they are placed in the vacuum chamber as they have to be during ordinary fumigation.

A hydraulic press of the type required for the purpose of lamination can be obtained from Messrs R D Wood Company, Philadelphia, PA, at a cost of \$7,555

or Rs 26 000 including freight charges. The operating cost of this machine and the recurring expenditure on cellulose products is said to be very small. Compared to Japanese tissue paper and chiffon cellulose acetate foil is very cheap. Cellulose acetate foil measuring 30" x 40" costs Rs 35 per ream or annas 12 per 100 square feet. Chiffon (Issee quality 383/368) 10" wide costs about 2s 1d a yard, i.e., about Rs 14 per 100 square feet. The price of Japanese tissue (Thosa B or Mino AA) is about \$4.50 per ream. While Japanese tissue paper costs 5 to 6 times more than cellulose acetate foil, Chiffon costs 5 times as much as Japanese tissue. With the introduction of the hydraulic press and cellulose acetate foil, the general outturn of laminated sheets will greatly increase, resulting in actual saving in the near future so that the initial expenditure of Rs 26 000 is perfectly justified.

A fumigation chamber (4' x 5' x 11') suitable for the vacuum fumigation of records can be obtained from the Guardite Corporation, Chicago, Illinois, at a cost of \$3 600 i.e., Rs 13 000 including freight charges. The operation of the chamber is easy and inexpensive though this must be done under expert supervision.

It seems desirable that lamination of records with cellulose acetate foil and vacuum fumigation should be introduced in all organised Record Offices in India.

The Chairman observed that the Commission should not express any opinion as to the comparative merits of laminating and vacuum fumigation as Dr Sen and Dr Baliga differed on the subject. Dr Baliga did not favour the proposal for lamination, this technical method being of recent growth, the future behaviour of which cannot be predicted with any degree of certainty. In the note submitted by him on this subject he also suggested a less costly method of fumigation in preference to vacuum fumigation. He then called upon the Secretary to place his views on Dr Baliga's note before the Commission. The Secretary said that he should be excused if he was unable to quote chapter and verse as he had no previous notice of Dr Baliga's objection. It was only by the courtesy of the Chairman that he had a look at Dr Baliga's note the previous night. He assured the members that he had not come before a body of experts like the Commission with a resolution without duly considering all its implications. An archivist is expected to be everything from a chemist and entomologist to a book binder. He added that not being a scientist himself he sought the advice of British, American and Indian experts on every technical problem. The records under his custody occupied more than nine miles of running shelf space. The temperature and relative humidity of New Delhi were not congenial to the health of old papers. According to the researches of the American Bureau of Standards the optimum temperature for preservation of records is about 80° and the optimum relative humidity is from 45% to 55%. In summer the relative humidity varies at New Delhi from 9% to 38% and the temperature inside the record rooms varies from 90° to 105°. New Delhi is not so free from insects as Madras appears to be. At present, he said, we repair our old and brittle records with chiffon and Japanese tissue papers. We naturally take into consideration not merely the permanency but also the transparency of the repairing material. The two principal repairing materials now in use are chiffon and Japanese tissue papers. Chiffon is quite transparent and it can be easily removed if necessary but it becomes brittle in fifteen to twenty years on account of the action of the atmospheric acid on the alkali in silk. Japanese tissue paper on the other hand is more durable but it quickly turns opaque and it is not so easy to remove it once it is pasted on the brittle

record Cellulose acetate foil is both transparent and durable. Lamination eliminates adhesives altogether and that is an additional advantage. Cellulose acetate foil is much less expensive than Japanese tissue papers and chiffon. The price of Chiffon is nearly twenty times and that of Japanese tissue paper five times as high as the price of Cellulose Acetate foil. We cannot ignore the time element either. An expert mender takes fifteen to twenty minutes to treat a page of record with chiffon. Lamination can be done in thirty seconds. Owing to the war the supply of Chiffon of the proper quality has been completely stopped, that of Japanese tissue paper of the required standard has been greatly limited. But I shall leave the old records in my custody unrepaired rather than expose them to any risk that a new process of repair may involve. Dr Baliga's objection is mainly based on the reluctance of the British Records Association to try lamination. But it will be seen that the Association always has special emphasis on the conditions prevailing in England. Indian conditions are quite different from English conditions. In England the adhesive used in repairing records has no arsenic or any other poison. In India we have to use dextrine paste with a good quantity of white arsenic. According to the British Records Association to plaster old records with celluloid solution is injurious to the paper so treated. Lamination does not mean plastering with Celluloid solution. Dr Baliga argues that lamination has been tried in the National Archives of Washington for five years only and the future effect of lamination on the papers laminated is still unknown. Before the National Archives adopted the new process researches and experiments were conducted in the American Bureau of Standards and the future effect can be more or less accurately ascertained by the accelerated aging test. I referred the question to four well known chemists of India and they were of opinion that lamination could be safely tried. The foil used is impervious to atmospheric action and also to a certain extent to insects. I am not averse to making experiments. I recently sent three faded documents to Mr Trivedi of the Poona Photo Registry Office and here you see the results of his experiment (The microfilmed copies with revived writing were placed on the table).

Now to turn to fumigation

The Chairman You may circulate your note

Dr Majumdar Sir we want to hear him

Dr Chajtai What is Dr Baliga's note? We have not seen it

It has not been circulated

The Secretary Dr Baliga is not opposed to fumigation in principle, but he objects to vacuum fumigation on the score of cost. We have been fumigating records with thymol and para-chlorobenzene in the Imperial Record Department for some time past. They are effective against mildew and other minute fungi but not against insects. Even poisonous adhesives are no remedy against insect pests. It should be remembered that we have to deal with different species of insects with different tastes and habits. We have to be true not merely the adults but also their eggs and larvae. Some insects feed on the leather of the binding.

Dr Baliga The binding may be removed

The Secretary It will be more expensive than vacuum fumigation. We have more than 15,000 bound volumes of records in the Imperial Record Department
MS201RD

Some insects bore into the straw boards others feed on the papers. Some of them are nocturnal in their habits. Again some insects are inactive and inert at a low temperature and the lethal gas is comparatively ineffective at that stage. To kill them with a poisonous gas it is necessary to regulate the temperature. The lethal gas should penetrate into the interstices and pores of the bound volumes and unbound records and this is possible only in a complete or partial vacuum. The more complete the vacuum the quicker is the action of the gas. Dr Baliga suggests that every volume and every bundle should be fumigated with paradichlorobenzene for ten days every year. Think of the task when one has to deal with 15 000 bound volumes and millions of old records. It has been found that a compound of carbon dioxide and ethylene oxide is lethal to the insects but has no deleterious effect on papers and if the initial expenses of providing a strong vacuum chamber are met the vacuum fumigation will prove much more effective and much less expensive. Sir, this Commission will be stultifying itself if it feels unable to express any opinion on this subject and the provincial governments and other institutions may not feel inclined to consult the Commission in future.

The Chairman To be frank these things are beyond me.

Professor Potdar Sir I beg to suggest that both Dr Baliga's note and Dr Sen's observations should be circulated among the members of the Commission and they should then be asked to give their views on the subject.

The Chairman We are not experts. The British and American opinions are divided on the subject.

The Chairman then moved that the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India be requested to draw up a fuller statement about the merits and demerits and cost of the different methods of preserving and repairing papers and that his note along with that of Dr Baliga be circulated to the Provincial Governments and the Indian States for such action as they might consider advisable to take in the matter. It was also decided that a note on remedies against insect pests submitted by Mr C V Chandrasekharan should also be circulated.

5 Publication of a consolidated statement of historical research work done in different Universities of India

For co-ordination of historical researches in Indian Universities Dr B S Baliga, Curator Madras Record Office has suggested the publication of a bulletin on the model of one issued annually by the Institute of Historical Research in Great Britain.

Explanatory note—The co-ordination of research work done in the record rooms of India and dissemination of relevant information about it have been the aim of the Commission for a long time past and it is to serve that purpose that corresponding members many of whom are University Professors are invited to furnish the Commission with brief notes on the original investigations conducted by them during the preceding twelve months. These reports are embodied in the Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission as an Appendix. But a more exhaustive record of researches made and investigations undertaken may be attempted if we

can persuade the Universities and the Provincial Governments to co operate with the Imperial Record Department in this useful survey. A statement in the following form may be forwarded to the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India

Name of the University or the Record Office	Name of the research scholar	Prof under whom the research is conducted	Subject of the research	Progress made	Bibliography	Remarks

by September every year and he may tabulate the information thus obtained and publish a consolidated report in the Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission for the benefit of research students. This will effectively remove the risk of two or more persons unwittingly wasting their time and labour on the same subject and also enable students working on kindred subjects to correspond with one another.

The Chairman suggested that this was the proper function of the Inter University Board and therefore no change in the existing procedure was necessary.

The suggestion was accepted.

6 Printing of a consolidated catalogue of Record publications

Explanatory note—Research students often want to ascertain what records are available in print. Lists of the records publications issued by the Government of India and the Governments of Bengal and the Punjab have been printed in the Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission Volumes XIV and XVI. But no lists are available for ready reference of the publications issued from the Record Offices in Madras and Bombay. Printing of a separate consolidated list on this subject is however hardly called for. It will meet the present requirements if a list of earlier publications is attached to any new book that may be issued from a record office. The Commission may accordingly recommend to the Provincial Governments and Indian States that when a new book is issued from their record office a list of all the earlier publications issued by them may be added at the end with necessary information about price and availability.

The Chairman observed that there are books of 20 to 30 pages only and if catalogue of 100 pages was added to them it would mean waste of time and labour. He suggested that a separate catalogue of the records publications should be issued and the same should be brought up to date from time to time.

After some discussion it was resolved

Resolution III —The Commission recommends that the Imperial Record Department and the Provincial Record Offices should issue separate catalogues of their records publications and bring them up to date from time to time. These catalogues should be circulated among the Record Offices Universities and the learned institutions

7 Resolution by (a) Pandit Bisheshwarnath Reu (b) Rao Bahadur M V Kibe

(a) The Commission *reminds* those Indian States which have not yet established their own record department to do so and collect there all historical records and after cataloguing them open those records to research students which are not objectionable

(b) The Commission is *again* calling up the Indian States to throw open their records to the students of history and to publish selections from them on the lines of the Government of India or Provincial Governments particularly Bombay

Secretary's note —Similar questions were considered by the Commission in its 1st 4th 6th 11th 12th and 15th sessions (*vide* Resolutions Nos II, VIII III 15 6 and 3 respectively). The history of British India cannot be adequately treated unless the records in the possession of the Indian States are studied properly. It seems therefore proper that the Commission should bring to the notice of all Indian States the desirability of organising record offices for the preservation of the valuable historical documents in their custody and for collecting originals or copies of such documents of historical value as may be found in the possession of the private families within their jurisdiction. They may also be informed that such expert help as they may require for the organization of their muniment rooms will be available from the Secretary of the Commission

The Secretary pointed out that similar questions were considered by the Commission on several occasions in the past and after some discussions the following resolution was adopted at the suggestion of the Chairman

Resolution IV —Resolved that the Commission brings to the notice of the Indian States the desirability of organising record offices for the preservation of the valuable historical documents in their custody and for collecting originals or copies of such documents of historical value as may be found in the possession of private families within their jurisdiction. They may also be informed that such expert help as they may require for the organization of their muniment rooms will be available from the Secretary of the Commission

8 Resolution by Mr Zafar Hasan

The Commission recommends that a systematic effort should be made to collect and preserve the ancient documents issued by the rulers of the country during the medieval period

Explanatory note —These documents include *Farnans Sarads Parvans Dastaks Ibramans Tashwans Court Judgments* etc. The state archives, wherein such records had been preserved have ceased to exist and only copies issued to individual grantees are now available. The importance of such records for compiling a social history of the country cannot be overestimated but unfortunately this valuable source has been sadly ignored

After some discussion the resolution was rejected and it was suggested that the mover should approach the Director of Archaeological Survey

9 Resolution by Mr. O P. Bhatnagar.

The Commission should request the Calcutta High Court to transfer the original records preserved in the original and appellate side, up to the period they are of no use to them to the Imperial Record Department where they can be of better use to researchers in modern History

Explanatory note The following is an extract from a letter from Mr Bhatnagar —

‘ I visited the Calcutta High Court in last summer and found that there is an enormous collection of records concerning the working of the Company’s courts and the Crown’s courts. These very old records are of no use to the Calcutta High Court and as such they cannot devote much time to proper classification. If the records are transferred to the Imperial Record Department New Delhi, they can be more properly classified and as such will be of great value to the researchers in writing a history of the working of the Company’s and Crown’s courts ’

Secretary’s note — This subject was discussed by the Commission in its first and fifth sessions and a resolution was passed (No. VII of the 5th session) requesting the Government of India to draw the attention of His Lordship the Chief Justice of Bengal to the need of better preservation, classification, reparing and indexing of these records. The Calcutta High Court has an organized record room of its own and adequate arrangements could be made for the better preservation of the old records in its custody if the necessary funds were available. Recently the Secretary had occasion to discuss this question with two of the Judges of the said High Court but nothing has so far materialised. It is understood that the Government of Bengal proposes to transfer their District records to the custody of the University of Calcutta. In case the High Court is unable to find the necessary funds for the proper preservation of these valuable records the local University may be requested, if His Lordship the Chief Justice so desires, to take charge of them.

Mr O P Bhatnagar moved that the Commission should request the Calcutta High Court to transfer the original records preserved in the original and appellate sides up to the period they are of no use to them to the Imperial Record Department where they can be of better use for researches in Modern History. He continued

‘ I happened to be at the Calcutta High Court during the summer months and I found an enormous collection of records concerning the working of the Company’s courts and the Crown courts. They are of no use to them. They have no time to look after them. They are kept like waste papers. Most of them are not properly classified. The Secretary has suggested that they should be transferred to the University of Calcutta. It will serve the purpose if they are transferred either to the Bengal Secretariat or to the keeper of the Imperial Record Department ’

The Chairman observed that the proper place for these records is the Bengal Secretariat because they deal with the past history of the province and if any paper is immediately called for by the High Court then the Imperial Record Department will be very far. He suggested that if more accommodation is provided in the Bengal Record Office these old records may be transferred to the Bengal Record Office for preservation.

Being called upon by the Chairman Mr B B Chakrabarti Keeper of Records, Bengal said "there is little space for the accommodation of any other records in the Bengal Record rooms

The Secretary said that the records in the High Court Record Room are in a deplorable condition. There is no arrangement for preserving them and there is actually a proposal for the destruction of the Mayor's court records. Justice Edgley is interested in records and he is trying for their preservation. The High Court should be approached with the request not to destroy them in any case.

The following resolution was then passed at the suggestion of the Chairman —

Resolution V — Resolved that this Commission requests the Calcutta High Court not to destroy any of the old records in its custody but to transfer them to some record office in Bengal or to any University in the Province.

10 Resolution by Rao Sahib C Hayavadana Rao

(a) Resolved that a representation be submitted to the Crown Representative in Madras that no censoring fee should be claimed in the case of transcripts in hand writing and that in the case of hand written transcripts there should be no limitation in the number of pages submitted for censoring provided that the transcripts in hand writing submitted are legible.

(b) Resolved that the censoring fees charged in the Madras Record Office be reduced so that the work of private research students may be facilitated.

Explanatory Note — The following is an extract from a letter from Rao Sahib C Hayavadana Rao —

"The examination of records in the Madras Record Office is a hindrance to private research students. Assistant Mr N Subba Rao M A for instance, who was deputed so recently as 1938 for the examination of the Madras Records on Mysore History for the period 1761-1831 was required to deposit for the purpose a minimum fee of Rs 15. He had not only to take in his own hand the extracts from the records but had to secure in addition a suitable typist to type the matter in the Record Office at the rather prohibitive rate of two annas per sheet of double spaced typescript, for submission to the Crown Representative, while the legible transcripts made by him on the spot were retained in the office only typescript being returned to him after being incised. Further even in the taking of extracts he had to restrict himself only to certain portions of the documents and had to observe a due proportion so as to make up a bare minimum of 75 pages of typescript for the amount covered by his deposit. The sacrifice of certain longer documents and

and far away from the precincts of the Record Office itself.

Secretary's note — Similar rules have already been revised by H L the Crown Representative and the Government of India in respect of the Research scholars conducting researches in the Imperial Record Department. We may suggest that the Madras rules may be modified on the lines of the Imperial Record Department rules.

Dr B S Baliga said that the Madras rules are made on the lines of those of the Government of India and that he had not received the revised rules at the time of Rao Sahib Hivandana Rao's requisition came.

The Chairman suggested that a copy of the latest rules of the Imperial Record Department should be forwarded to every provincial Government with a request that if action on similar lines is taken it will be greatly helpful to the cause of research.

11 Resolution by Mr S A Shere

This Commission recommends to the Government of Bihar the desirability of establishing a record office at Patna at an early date and that rules should be framed for the access of students and scholars interested in historical researches.

Explanatory note—Mr Shere has suggested that the Government of Bihar should be requested to establish a record office at Patna in which scattered records in English and Hindustani can be brought together and listed and made available to students and scholars interested in historical researches. He also suggests that the question of the appointment of a Keeper of Records in Bihar need not be taken up by Government at the present moment owing to financial stringency and he offers his services without any remuneration for the above work as he is already serving under Government.

Secretary's note—The Commission (Resolution X of the 13th session) recommended to the Government of Bihar and Orissa to establish a Provincial Record Office and in his demi-official letter No 45 R dated the 14th January 1938 the Secretary Revenue Department Government of Bihar stated that it was proposed to take up the question of the establishment of a Provincial Record Office in consultation with the Board of Revenue. No further information on this subject is available. The Commission may reiterate their recommendation to the Government of Bihar about the desirability of expediting the establishment of a Record Office.

Mr Shere withdrew his resolution with the permission of the Chairman.

12 Report of the Sub-Committee on the Resolution by Dr Balkrishna (I H R C Proceedings, Vol XVI, Part III, pp 8-10)

Dr Balkrishna suggested the adoption of a ten year plan for securing typewritten or microfilmed copies of the records relating to India which are available in the India Office, Holland, France and Portugal.

It was decided to refer the matter to a Sub-Committee consisting of—

The President

Sir Jadunath Sarkar

Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan

Khan Bahadur A F M Abdul Ali

Mr M M Stuart

Dr G L Chopra

Dr B S Baliga and

The Secretary

The following resolution on the subject passed unanimously by the members has been submitted by the Sub Committee for the consideration of the Commission —

‘ In view of the present abnormal conditions it is not possible now to secure copies of records relating to India from European countries

The Chairman stated that no other course was open to them

The report was approved

13 Inspection note of the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India on the maintenance of the Records in the Alienation Office, Poona (Appendix A)

The Note was printed and circulated among the members on the day previous to the members meeting. The Secretary read out a telegram from the Government of Bombay inviting the views of the Commission on this note

The Chairman moved the following resolution which was carried —

Resolution I I — Resolved that the consideration of the report be taken up next year

14 Reorganisation of the Indian Historical Records Commission

Professor Nilakanta Shastri addressing the President said While leaving Madras I came to know that there is a proposal under contemplation for the reorganisation of this Commission May I suggest that we should request the Government of India that no proposal should be taken up without circulating it among the members? My reason is that this Commission knows what it has been doing and the Government of India are certainly gaining some experience We have got an experience of twenty years So I would like to move if you permit me that any proposal for reorganisation of this Commission should not be decided without consulting the opinion of the Commission as a body

The Secretary said There are some tentative proposals and the Government of India have circulated them among the ordinary members and the Provincial Governments The provincial governments have further been requested to obtain the opinion of the local universities and learned bodies and most of our corresponding members come from the Universities At present the proposals are only tentative suggestions and the Government of India may or may not put them into action They may also modify their views in the light of the suggestions they receive It is only then that the time will come for placing their proposals before the Commission

After some discussion the following resolution was passed at the suggestion of the Chairman

Resolution I II The Commission recommends that its opinion as a body should be taken before the Government of India come to a final decision about its reorganisation

15 Date and Place of the 1941 and 1942 Meetings

The Secretary announced that the Government of Mysore have invited the Commission to hold its meetings there in 1941 A similar invitation having been received later from the University of Dacca they have been informed that their proposal will be considered if they are agreeable to invite the Commission in 1942

16 Vote of thanks to the Chair and the Secretary

Dr R C Majumdar proposed a vote of thanks to the Chair and the Secretary. This was seconded by Dr B S Bahga and carried unanimously. The meeting was then dissolved.

17 The following Papers and publications were laid on the table

(i) An extract from the correspondence relating to the transfer of a huge mass of historical records to the Imperial Record Department by the Government of the North West Frontier Province. These documents are likely to throw a flood of light on the Afghan and Tribal affairs.

(ii) An extract from a note forwarded by Rto Bahadur Sardar M V Kabe with his letter dated the 23rd October 1940 regarding Athalye collection of unpublished records. (Appendix J)

(iii) A note from Mr A K Deshpande, M A LL B Barar on a MS Library at Balapur in Akola District. (Appendix I)

(iv) An extract from a letter from Mr Amarnath Ray Assam dated the 8th April 1940 tendering his resignation from the personnel of the corresponding members owing to ill health.

(v) A list of commemorative tablets on notable buildings in the Baroda State. (Appendix G)

(vi) Copy of a letter from Cloutier 1770 by late Ven W K Firminger. (Appendix H)

(vii) Annual Reports of

(a) Imperial Record Department 1939

(b) Madras Record Office 1939

(c) Bengal Records Office 1939

(viii) Imperial Record Department publications

(a) A Manual of Rule Regulations, Access to Archives in India and Europe

(b) Imperial Record Department (Historical Research) Rule

(c) Calendar of Persian Correspondence Vol VII

(d) Index to the Land Revenue Records 1830-37

(e) List of the Heads of Administrations in India and in India Office in England correctd up to the 1st October 1938

(ix) Books and pamphlets presented to the Commission during 1940—

1 Early History of Kamarupa by Pt Bahadur K L Barua CIE

2 Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India by Mr S M Jaffar, B A M R A S (Lond)

3 The Mughal Empire by Mr S M Jaffar B A M R A S (Lond)

4 Education in Muslim India by Mr S M Jaffar B A M R A S (Lond)

5 Medieval India under Muslim Kings II Ghaznavids by Mr S M Jaffar B A M R A S (Lond)

6 Studies in the Early Political System of the First India Company in Bengal (1765—74) Volumes I and II by Mr D N Banerjee M A

7 Studies in Early Governmental System of the Company in Bengal (1765—74) III by Mr D N Banerjee M A

8 Raja Rammohan Roy and the last Moghals a selection from Official Records (1803-1859) by Dr J K Majumdar M A Ph D (Lond), Bar at Law

9 History of Golconda (in Persian) by Mr Abdul Majeed Siddiqi M A., LL B

- 10 Poona Residency correspondence (Extra Volume) Selections from Sir C W Malet's letter book 1780-1784 Edited by Dr Raghunath Singh MA LLB D Litt
- 11 The Indian Press by Margarita Barns
- 12 The Santal Insurrection of 1855-57 by Dr K K Datta MA Ph D PRS
- 13 A Historical Review of Hindu India (300 B C to 1200 A D) by Mr Panchanananaya BA
- 14 Alwar and His Times by Dr K K Datta MA Ph D PRS
- 15 Vir Vinod (History of Udupur Ranas) by Late Mahamahopadhyaya Kaviraj Shamaldas

(x) Reports of the research work received from the following corresponding members

- 1 Mr H G Rawlinson MA C I F
- 2 Dr K R Subramanian MA Ph D
- 3 Rao Sahib C S Srinivasachari MA
- 4 Mr K A Nilakanta Sastri MA
- 5 Sri Vidyasagara Vidyachaspati P P Subrahmanya Sastriar BA (Oxon)
- 6 Sir Lakshminarayana Harichandana Jagadeva Rajabhadur M R A S
- 7 Dr B A Sletore MA Ph D (Lond) D Phil (Giessen)
- 8 Dr R C Majumdar MA Ph D (Cal)
- 9 Dr J C Sinha MA Ph D (Lond)
- 10 Mr D N Banerjee MA
- 11 Mr L P Datta M R A S F R S A (Lond)
- 12 Dr N K Sinha MA Ph D
- 13 Dr Radhakumud Mookerji MA PRS Ph D M L C
- 14 Dr Nanlal Chatterji MA Ph D D Litt
- 15 Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan BA
- 16 Sardar Ganai Singh MA
- 17 Mr K P Mitra MA B I
- 18 Dr K K Basu MA, Ph D
- 19 Mr S A Shere MA (Lond) LLB
- 20 Dr Kalkinkar Datta MA Ph D PRS
- 21 Rai Bahadur Dr S K Bhuyan MA B L (Cal) Ph D (Lond)
- 22 Mr S C Goswami I S O
- 23 Mr S M Jaffar BA M R A S (Lond)
- 24 Dr T C P Sircar MA Ph D (Cantab)
- 25 Dr Bool Chand MA Ph D (Lond)
- 26 Rajacharivisharada Rao Sahib C Hayavadana Rao BA B L
- 27 Pundit Bisheshwaramath Reu Sahityacharya
- 28 Dr Balkrishna MA Ph D F R E S F S S F R Hist S
- 29 Rao Bahadur Sardar M V Kibe MA
- 30 Srimati Kamalabai Kibe
- 31 Mr P Acharya B Sc M R A S
- 32 Mr R Vasudeva Poduval BA
- 33 Cavaliero Panduranga Pissurlencar
- 34 Mons Alfred Lehuraux
- 35 Mr G H Luce MA (Cantab) I L S

Conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India and the Provincial Governments, etc., on the resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at the Sixteenth Meeting and on some passed at previous sessions

Resolutions of the Commission	Orders of the Government of India	Action taken by the Provincial Governments, etc.	Remarks
<p><i>Resolution I</i>—This Commission deeply mourns the death of Mr. Venkatesh M. Balasubramanian Pillai, Mr. T. P. Saha, Sringeri and Mr. M. S. J. Seth and authorises the Secretary to convey to their relatives expressions of sympathy and condolence on behalf of the Commission.</p>	<p>The resolution of condolence was forwarded to the bereaved families.</p>		
<p><i>Resolution II</i>—The Commission recommends (a) that in the first instance indexes of the preliminary records taken in A.I.M. III be prepared by the Commission by the help of the records of the Government of India and (b) that outside help be secured to expedite the work with regard to such records as may be thrown open to bona fide students of history.</p>	<p>The Government of India prefer the adoption of scheme II and have asked for an estimate of the staff for working it in a reasonable period of time.</p>		<p>The scheme II includes (a) all the records of the late Foreign & Political Department (b) the records of the Home Department and (c) the records relating to Land Revenue Estate papers and Quarter Master General. An index to the land Revenue Records 1830-37 has been prepared and printed and a copy has been submitted to the Government of India. The particulars required by them have also been supplied.</p>
<p><i>Resolution III</i>—The Commission recommends that all 'C' class papers should be preserved in the Imperial Record Department in New Delhi.</p>	<p>The Government of India accepted the recommendation.</p>		<p>It has been decided to undertake the repair of the C class documents after the A and B class papers have been attended to.</p>

Resolutions of the Commission	Orders of the Government of India	Action taken by the Provincial Governments, etc	Remarks
<i>Resolution II</i> —The Commission recommends that papers to be read at its public meeting be printed in advance	The Government of India accepted the recommendation		
<i>Resolution I</i> —It was further resolved that a Selection Committee with Sir Jadunath Sarkar and the Secretary as members be appointed for the scrutiny of the papers received	The recommendation was not acceptable to the Government of India		In the opinion of the Government of India the scrutiny of papers submitted for reading at the public meetings of the Commission is a function of the Local Records Sub Committee and that it is not desirable to include in its personnel any member who is not ordinarily a resident of New Delhi
<i>Resolution II</i> —The Commission is of opinion that it is desirable to enlighten the Indian States about the procedure to be adopted in inviting the Commission and requests the Government of India to move His Excellency the Crown Representative to issue a circular letter on the subject in suitable official language to the States	In the opinion of the Government of India there is hardly any necessity to issue a circular letter to the Indian States on this subject		The present convention is that whenever it is considered desirable to arrange a meeting of the Commission in an Indian State the Secretary of the Commission submits his proposals to the Government of India in the Department of Education Health and Lands That Department then ascertains through the Political Department whether the State concerned is willing to invite the Commission and communicates the results of the negotiation to the Secretary of the Commission

Action taken on some of the Resolutions of the 13th, 14th and the 15th sessions.

Resolutions of the Commission	Orders of the Government of India	Action taken by the Provincial Governments, etc	Remarks
<p><i>Resolution 5 of the 13th Session (Poona)</i>—This Commission recommends to the Government of the United Provinces the desirability of establishing a record office at an early date and that rules should be framed for the access of scholars to it</p>	<p>A reminder was issued to the Government of the United Provinces (vide I H P C Proceedings Volume XVI part III page 2 item II)</p>	<p>The Government of the United Provinces have replied that on account of the present need of economy due to the war it has not been possible to take up the question of establishing a Central Record Office</p>	
<p><i>Resolution 8 of the 14th Session (Lahore)</i>—The Government of India be requested to give the public unrestricted access to the records upto the year 1800</p>	<p>The Government of India and H E the Crown Representative have been pleased to throw open their records up to 1880 to the bona fide research scholars subject to such rules as the Government of India may frame</p>		
<p><i>Resolution 14 of the 13th Session (Patna)</i>—That the Commission recommends to the various Governments the desirability of placing memorial tablets on historic sites (such as the field of Panipat) and preserving similar monuments where they already exist</p>		<p>It was decided to place a memorial pillar at the battlefield of Tukaroi which is in the Dantoon Thana in Midnapore, a district in Bengal (vide I H R C Procs Vol XIV, p 181)</p> <p>The Collector of Midnapore informs that the proposal for constructing a memorial pillar at Tukaroi has been closed by the Home (Political) Department of the Government of Bengal</p>	

APPENDIX A

Inspection Note of the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India on the Maintenance of the Records on the Alienation Office, Poona

The Government of Bombay in their letter No 6558 E dated the 15th May 1940, enquired of the Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands whether the Government of India could conveniently lend to the Bombay Government the services of the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India for a few days to advise the Bombay Government on the present system of the maintenance of the records in the Alienation Office, Poona and to suggest improvements if necessary. Later the Bombay Government wrote to the Government of India that the Keeper might be requested to visit the Alienation Office in the third or fourth week of September 1940. Accordingly I left Delhi on Monday the 23rd September and visited the Alienation Office on the 25th and the 26th September. On the 27th I verbally communicated the results of my enquiry to Mr D MacLachlan, Commissioner Central Division under whose control the Alienation Office is and discussed the relevant problems of supervision and preservation with Sir Gilbert Wiles the Senior Adviser to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay.

On the first day of my visit to the Alienation Office Mr D R Gadgil, M A, M Litt (Cantab) Director Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Professor D V Potdar Secretary Bhamburda Jithasa Samshodhaka Mandala and Dr I J S Taraporewala Director Deccan College were present by invitation. Mr Gadgil and Professor Potdar I am told had already considered some of the questions, referred to me at the instance of the Government of Bombay and had already submitted for their consideration certain specific recommendations. As in their letter to the Secretary to the Government of India Department of Education, Health and Lands mentioned above the Bombay Government had referred to the present arrangements made for the students of history at the Alienation Office and the necessity of paying progressively greater attention to the needs and requirements of research students, I discussed that question with Dr Taraporewala to whose institution, I understand, the majority of such research students belong and Professor D V Potdar who had for a long time past interested himself in the second problem. On the second day I happened to meet in the Alienation Office Professor C B Joshi of the Wadia College who had gone through a part of the *Jai az Daftar* and had therefore personal knowledge of the state of preservation in which they generally are. Mr Kazi Assistant Commissioner Central Division also helped me in every way and so did Mr S B Dary Acting Head Clerk.

I need not go into the past history of the Archives about the preservation of which I have been called upon to advise. How they were acquired what they relate to when they were transferred to the present premises have been related in detail in the excellent note of Mr A C Loom in 1906. From Dr Taraporewala and Professor D V Potdar I learnt that the facilities granted to the research students are quite satisfactory. The number of such students is at present extremely limited and the visitors except for a few university students who come to examine the records with a view to writing dissertations for certain degrees are interested in their family history alone. The room allotted for the use of research students is quite spacious, and as more than 2,000 *runals* are now available for their use I do not think the research students can have any reasonable grievance. I may therefore pass on to the present system of preservation or lack of it.

At present the records, styled as *Peshwas Daftar*, are housed in a stone building with eight large and four small rooms. Of these, one is occupied by the staff, another has been allotted to the printing press and a third has been set apart for the use of the research students. The remaining nine are used as muniment rooms. In 1905 Mr Logan found the building quite suitable for storing records but it is difficult to concur with him to do so. Two of the first floor rooms are positively damp and the records kept there have already been affected by mildew spores. They are not free from draught when it rains. I have been told that the roof leaks at places and I observed that the brick rooms were not quite safe even when there was a light shower. The arrangements for ventilation are also faulty and unsuitable. The glass panes in the fixed and although they admit sufficient in the lower portion however, can be let down for and there is no means of shutting out rain water. In any case under the present system the upper shelves are not aired at all. The best arrangement of course would be to use the windows for light alone and provide the rooms with exhaust fans for ventilation.

A large tank of water has been provided on the central tower against accidental outbreak of fire. But if a small fire is detected in time the hose is likely to flood the entire room and more damage is likely to be caused by water than fire. This risk can be avoided if the muniment rooms are provided with a few small fire extinguishers of the modern type.

The oldest papers in the Pooná Daftar date from 1702. So none of the records are, therefore, nearly 250 years old. When an exhaustive examination is made of all the bundles or *runals* still older records may come to light. The paper, however, is quite strong, the ink is good and there is no reason why these records under proper care and scientific treatment should not last for centuries to come. Unfortunately however, nothing so far has been done for their preservation except storing them in bundles of various sizes and weight on wooden racks in the Alienation Office building.

In 1905 Mr Logan found the building free from white ants. At the time of my inspection I did not find any trace of them in the building itself but some of the records particularly of the *jamni* section bore ugly evidence of their ravages. The rag stock paper which was used in the Peshwa period is so strong, that after the necessary repairs it will not be difficult to preserve the remaining portion of the records so damaged in fairly good condition. If the rooms are free from white ants they are not devoid of other insect pests. Apart from the damaged records in which I found unmistakable traces of the presence of silver fish and certain boring insects, I actually found live specimens of the former and some larvae of the latter. Damp as some of the rooms are it is no wonder that the insects have found their way to loose bundles on the shelves. I should not be surprised if rats and other vermins are found to frequent these rooms at night. Most of the insect pests are night feeders and as the brief time at my disposal did not permit a thorough examination of more than a few bundles the extent of the damage done by the various insect pests must remain a subject of conjecture for the present. It may, however, be stated that the records on the upper shelves where ventilation is most defective have suffered most.

Although the papers have been roughly classified under different sections according to the departments of their origin and chronologically arranged, nothing so far has been done for indexing them. Mr Logan mentions *firsts* and *wahis* which

enabled an intelligent and experienced man, appropriately styled as a "walking index", to trace a specified paper within a reasonably short time. These lists, I understand, still exist, but apart from the general nature of the records they convey no information about their subject matter. The research students have, therefore, to rummage through whole bundles and every sheet in the *rumals* requisitioned by them suffers a certain amount of rough handling. The records are subjected to further unkind treatment when they are sent to the printing press at the requisition of the litigant public. I am told that the office has, in its possession, printed duplicates of nearly sixty thousand documents or more. But they cannot be easily traced for the lack of a proper hand list.

The records in the Peshwas' Daftar vary in size and sometimes a single sheet of paper runs to 10 yards or more in length. These papers have been folded several times to reduce their size to a convenient dimension in the most primitive manner conceivable. Even with this treatment uniformity of size has not been attained. The folded papers have been tied with hard twine and then an indefinite number of them has been made into a bundle. The bundles have been stacked one on the top of another in an indiscriminate way. It is common knowledge that folded papers are liable to break along the folds, and hard twine cuts into papers. Old brittle papers are bound to deteriorate further when they are made to bear a certain amount of pressure and weight. It is no wonder that some old records have already gone into pieces and others show unmistakable signs of their impending doom. Even the best preserved records in the Alienation Office are not likely to remain intact for more than a decade unless necessary measures for preservation are taken in the meantime. The English records, some of which have been bound into volumes, badly stand in need of repair because no care has been taken for dusting and mending them. Some of the Persian papers have been flattened by Professor Ganda Singh and arranged according to their subject matter. But the flattening has not been properly done and there are creases still to be smoothed and repairs to be made. It is therefore essentially necessary that a comprehensive scheme should be formulated for the preservation of the old records in the *Peshwas' Daftar*, otherwise they are bound to deteriorate and decay. But the prospect need not be so gloomy as it may appear at the first sight if immediate steps are taken to improve the existing conditions in the Alienation Office.

The *rumals* in the Alienation Office number approximately 35 000. They are of varying size and it is not possible to calculate the exact number of the records they contain. They are not numbered and as Professor Ganda Singh disturbed the previous arrangements of the Persian *rumals*, the number of the records in the bundles made by him will not offer accurate data for our calculation. Professor D. V. Potdar says that each *rumal* of Marathi records contains at least 1 000 sheets of papers and at this rate the Alienation Office will have to provide for the maintenance of 35 000 000 sheets of old papers in varying state of preservation or decay. Obviously, it will not be possible to attend to 35 000 000 papers all at once and even if the Government of Bombay can provide the necessary funds and labour it will not be possible to find sufficient accommodation for the repairing staff in the present building. The programme of repair will, therefore, have to be spread over a period ranging from five to ten years.

It will be seen from Appendix A that at present the Alienation Office has no staff for repairing and dusting the records in its custody. The folded records, however,

should be immediately flattened and the urgent repair should at once attended to. As sufficient data for accurate calculation are not available at present I should suggest that work may be started without any further delay with a staff of 20 menders and 4 dusting bearers. As there is no possibility of fresh acquisition of records in the Alienation Office the Bombay Government will be in a position to calculate the exact amount of money and labour needed for the preservation of the *Peshwas' Daftar* on the basis of twelve months' out turn.

A skilled mender should be able to flatten at least 1000 sheets every working
 1 - 1

are two alternatives. The Bombay Government may get some intelligent menders of their own trained in the Imperial Record Department at New Delhi or ask for the loan of the services of one of the senior menders of the Imperial Record Department for a year or so. In my opinion the second alternative will meet the needs of the Alienation Office best as otherwise the urgent work of flattening and mending will have to be postponed till the return of the menders deputed for training i.e., for six months at least. A clerk however, may be deputed to Delhi for six months' training in different branches of records keeping.

The best material for repairing brittle records is cellulose acetate foil. It is strong and transparent and comparatively impervious to insects. It can moreover be applied without any adhesive but the necessary machinery is not available in India. Next to cellulose acetate foil chiffon or very thin silk gauze has been found to be a good repairing material. It ensures transparency and adds to the life of the repaired document twenty five years at least. When fresh repair is needed chiffon can be completely removed with the greatest possible ease. Japanese tissue paper has also been tried in the Imperial Record Department but the result has not been very encouraging. It is liable to become opaque within a few years and cannot be so easily removed as chiffon. But unfortunately neither chiffon nor Japanese tissue paper of the best quality is available in the market at present. We have therefore to use Japanese tissue paper of an inferior quality for repair work as a matter of necessity. It is therefore, advisable to execute the most urgent and unavoidable repairs with the available repairing materials and postpone all avoidable repairs for better times. The purchase of a laminating machine for repair with cellulose acetate foil will ultimately effect considerable economy in labour and time for lamination takes only a few seconds to complete once the optimum pressure and temperature is ascertained while repair with chiffon takes nearly 15 to 20 minutes per paper. The machine will cost about Rs. 30,000 and the necessary literature may be obtained from Messrs R. Wood & Co., Philadelphia Pa. U.S.A. (Appendix B).

It is not advisable to use ordinary adhesives for repairing old records. The Imperial Record Department has tried dextrine pastes with a small quantity of white arsenic and found it very satisfactory. The formula of the paste is given in Appendix C. It can be locally prepared or obtained from Messrs. Fernal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works of Calcutta. The leather of the bound volumes should also be treated with a preservative the ingredients of which are mentioned in Appendix D.

The records when flattened, repaired and paginated should be placed under a docket cover, a sample of which is enclosed herewith. Such docket covers may be

locally obtained at a small expense. Put as the records in the Alienation Office are not of a uniform size we have to face the problem of preserving documents of exceptional size after flattening. Two alternative treatments are possible. When the writing is on one side only the document in question may be mounted on thin muslin and rolled like a map or chart. This process is likely to prove more expensive and the document under such a treatment is likely to require more shelf space than at present. It will be in my opinion more convenient to cut such documents, when flattened into several pages of uniform size if possible at the folds where the paper has already begun to wear out. Care will have to be taken not to cut very close to the writing. These pages may after guarding be formed into gathers and stitched with a shell cover as in other cases. When the flattened papers are provided with shell covers they will withstand better the adverse effects of careless handling. Numbering may be done by an experienced clerk simultaneously with flattening and repairing.

The present system of keeping records in a tight bundle does not permit of efficient dusting apart from other defects detailed above. Professor Potdar has suggested that the records should in future be placed in tin boxes of convenient size with holes for ventilation, but tin boxes are liable to rust and fibre boxes may prove better receptacles for old and brittle papers. But fibre boxes are more expensive and will require more shelf space. I therefore suggest that the record should be serially arranged and packed between two 5 ply wood vanista boards and tied with logline at both ends. The bundle should not be more than 10" deep and the boards should be of sufficient breadth and length to prevent the logline from coming in contact with the papers within. Plywood boards are sufficiently light and strong and they are not likely to warp. 5 plywood boards of 8 x 5 1/2 are available at New Delhi at Rs 15 per hundred.

Before the bundles are deposited on the racks papers affected with damp and mildew will have to be chemically treated to prevent further infection and deterioration. Fumigation with Thymol crystals and Paradichlorobenzene has been found quite satisfactory. Both the processes are simple and inexpensive and can be effected with an ordinary closed cabinet which can be manufactured at an approximate cost of Rs 50 each. (Appendix E)

Human ingenuity is unable to restore the writing already destroyed by insects and other pests but preventive measures can and should be taken against further injury. The best way to destroy vermins of all sorts as well as their eggs and larvae is by vacuum fumigation the details of which will be available in Appendix E. As it may not be possible to provide the Alienation Office immediately with a vacuum chamber the saucers holding the racks should be filled with kerosine and creosote and the wooden racks should be periodically treated with raw creosote. Care should be taken not to replace the records on the racks so treated until they are completely dry. Every muniment room should be generously provided with Naphthalene bricks and when possible the wooden racks should be replaced by steel shelves.

Hand cleaning of records is neither efficient nor convenient and often does more harm than good to old and brittle paper. The Alienation Office should be provided with portable vacuum cleaners so that records may be regularly dusted without disturbing or handling the bundles. In the use of the records subjected to the suction of the vacuum cleaners it is suggested that papers in the same bundle should be as far as possible of the same size and the top parts of one or two papers should not be

allowed to stick out above the general height-level of the rest. As electric power is needed for working vacuum cleaners the Alienation Office should be provided with electric installation.

Even when sufficient precaution has been taken against the deleterious effects of dust old papers are liable to suffer from the adverse effect of atmospheric acid, varying temperature and humidity. Poona is an industrial town and the atmosphere may not be quite congenial to the health of the old records. At present there are no available data about the variation of temperature and humidity in the muniment rooms of the Alienation Office. Experiments by the American Bureau of Standards have satisfactorily established that a uniform temperature of about 80° and a uniform comparative humidity of 45% to 55% are most suitable for the preservation of papers. These ideal conditions may be secured by a suitable air conditioning plant with arrangements for filtering the incoming air current. (Appendix F)

Apart from measures of preservation recommended above the Alienation Office will have to devise ways and means to safeguard the papers from unnecessary handling and dishonest treatment. The Alienation Commissioners had their special method of enumeration and stamping to prevent substitution of papers but that will not be of any use to-day. Nor does their device offer any security against papers from a particular bundle being purloined. Professor Potdar has suggested in his note a system of enumeration which may be conveniently tried. It will not be practical at this stage to sort and classify the huge mass of records now in the custody of the Alienation Office. But the records of each series as they are now arranged may be serially numbered so that the removal of the smallest slip of paper may be easily detected. At present it is not even known how many papers a particular bundle contains. The cumbrous and uneconomic system of supplying printed copies of specified records to the litigants may very conveniently be abandoned and more reliable and less

copies may be supplied to research students instead of the brittle originals. I understand that most of the Persian records have been microfilmed at the local photo-

mine the paper, ink, and script of any particular document with a view to ascertaining its genuineness.

An exhaustive index, when compiled, will remove the need of issuing a whole bundle of papers for an indefinite period of time. If the student knows what particular paper he wants and if it can be easily located he need not waste his time in rummaging through an indefinite mass of records. But the compilation of such an index will be a stupendous task and the proposal has been considered and rejected in the past as unnecessary from the administrative point of view. A beginning in this direction, however, can be made with the co-operation of the local professors and research scholars. They may be asked to prepare brief notes on the subject matter of the records they examine in the course of their research work and an index to individual bundles may thus be prepared without any additional cost and labour. A consolidated index may be attempted when such notes are available for a large number of bundles in a particular section. I made this suggestion to Professors Gadgil,

Potdar and Taraporewala They welcomed the idea but opined that the average research student could not be entrusted with a technical work of this character with a view to the present is so limited future The experi

I came to learn that some local professors have been permitted to remove certain old papers from the Manuscript Office holdings to their own homes. It is a matter to

room during the normal working hours and he should remember that in the interest of historical research and advancement of learning he should refrain from claiming any privilege that may in any way jeopardize the safety of these valuable records which should not only be made available to the scholars of to day but should be carefully preserved for the future generations as well

If the printing press is abolished accommodation may be found in the press room for the repairing staff and the hand press may be used for flattening folded records

In conclusion, I may briefly summarise my findings and recommendations for ready reference

- (1) Some of the records are in a shocking condition They have suffered from the inevitable process of time and avoidable lack of care
- (2) Suitable measures of preservation and repair should be immediately adopted
- (3) The folded papers should be flattened, numbered, paginated and made into bundles
- (4) 5 Ply wood vanista boards of suitable size should be used for making bundles
- (5) A staff of 20 menders and 4 dusting bearers should be employed forthwith for the work specified in No 3 above
- (6) For supervising their work the services of a senior mender of the Imperial Record Department should be requisitioned for one year at the outset
- (7) At present the most urgent repair work should be done with the repairing materials available in the market, more elaborate repairs being postponed for better times Flattening should be expedited as far as possible and dextrine pastes should be used
- (8) Papers affected with damp should be fumigated with Thymol
- (9) The racks should be treated with raw creosote and the record rooms should be copiously provided with Napthalene bricks
- (10) Muniment rooms should be provided with portable fire extinguishers and vacuum cleaners
- (11) A member of the supervising staff should be deputed to New Delhi for necessary training

- (12) The additional staff recommended above will cost the Bombay Government Rs 7,560 0 0 per annum and the cost of the repairing materials will be approximately as detailed in Appendix G
- (13) Printing may be substituted by microfilming and an attempt may be made to get all the records microfilmed within a specified period
- (14) The other suggestions made in the body of the report respecting laminating machines vacuum fumigation air conditioning and indexing may be given effect when and as suitable opportunities occur. When the flattening programme is completed and a laminating machine has been acquired it will be possible to effect considerable reduction in the mending staff. The four dusting leavers will still have to be retained but as the arrears in mending work are gradually reduced by quicker and cheaper mechanical processes the services of a large number of menders may be dispensed with unless they are needed somewhere else in the province. But this is hardly the time to think of future economies. The invaluable records in the Alienation Office have long been treated with indifference they should now receive the attention and care that they deserve and need.

IMPERIAL RECORD DEPARTMENT,
NEW DELHI,
The 4th October 1940

S N SEN,

} Keeper of the Records of the Government of India

APPENDIX A

Alienation Office

1 Mr S B Darg B A Ag Head Clerk	10—5—900 (15)	Disposal of cases (important and confidential) Central supervision and scrutiny of cases put up by clerks
2 Mr H I Gurup Record Keeper	10—5—140 (11)	Disposal of cases given by the Head Clerk Disposal of applications for copies Attend in the Historical students and scrutiny of their notes
3 Mr C T Itranthari Clerk	85—5—100 (100)	Disposal of cases given by the Head Clerk Proof correcting
4 Mr N I Wadhikar Clerk	70—5/2—80 (50)	Disposal of Gujarathi applications Scrutiny of cash alteration statements and Land alteration statements Despatch
5 Mr M I Ianare P A Clerk	—5/2—75 (50)	Disposal of cases given by the Head Clerk Maintenance of accounts and replacing records taken out for references Typing

1 Mr V G Dighe M A Historical Archivist	10—5—150 (115)	Pullication of Selections from the Residency Records Exploration of the Daftar
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Alienation Office Press

1 Mr V V Patankar Head Compositor	30—5/2—80 (75)	Printing of copies applied for by the applicants and other Government work
2 Mr D V Desai 2 d Compositor	30—5/2—80 (75)	
3 Mr R S Rane 3rd Compositor	25—5/2—75 (30)	
4 Shankar Govind Clavan Press man	22—1/2—25 (25)	Striking copies and proofs of the material composed by the compositors

Rs.

1 Shankar Tukaram	90	Naik
2 Shankar Tukaram Bankar	19	Peon
3 Shankar Sadoba Dangat	19	Peon
4 Babu Rajmohamad	19	Watchmen
5 Sadashiv Mahadu	18	
6 Bhiku Umaji	18	
7 Govind Appaji	17	

APPENDIX B

Lamination—The reinforcing of brittle record with Japanese tissue paper or chiffon is not an ideal method in that the use of these repairing materials increases the resistance to handling but does not protect it from general deterioration. The adhesive used may render the documents more susceptible to attack from insects or fungi. The legibility and flexibility of documents may also be adversely affected by treatment with them. The National Archives of the U S A investigated the various methods of repairing documents and finally adopted the use of cellulose acetate foil for lamination of records by the application of heat and pressure in a hydraulic press. This is undoubtedly the best method of repairing in view of the fact that no adhesive is required and that the coating being impervious does not permit any atmospheric acid to act on the paper.

A hydraulic press of the type required for this purpose can be obtained from the R D Wood Company, Philadelphia, P A at a cost of £7,555 or Rs 26,000 including freight charges. The operating cost of this machine and the recurring expenditure on cellulose products is said to be negligible. Compared to Japanese tissue paper or chiffon, cellulose acetate foil, is the cheapest. Cellulose acetate foil measuring 30" X 40" costs Rs 35 per ream, viz, annas 12 per 100 square feet. Chiffon (isse quality 383/368) 40" wide costs about 2s 1d a yard, i.e., about Rs 14 per 100 square feet. The price of Japanese tissue (Thosa B or Mino AA) is about \$4 50 per ream. While Japanese tissue paper costs 5 to 6 times higher than cellulose acetate foil, Chiffon costs 5 times higher than Japanese tissue. With the introduction of the hydraulic press and cellulose acetate foil the general out turn of laminated sheets will greatly increase, resulting in actual saving in the near future, so that the heavy initial expenditure of Rs 26,000 is perfectly justified.

APPENDIX C

The use of an adhesive for repairing work is indispensable. In making a choice we must see that the adhesive does not form a delicious food for insects or a nice medium for the growth of fungi or bacteria. Any adhesive must therefore contain preservatives for the pure starchy material as also insecticides and fungicides for keeping away insects and fungi. Dextrine paste supplied by the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works may be used for this purpose. Its formula is given below for information.

Dextrine	.	.	.	5 lbs
Water				20 lbs
Oil cloves	.			1½ oz
Saffrol				1½ oz
Wh to Arsenic				2½ oz

The paste is poisonous to human beings but there is no danger in handling it.

APPENDIX D

Leather Preservative — Tanned leather of good quality is ordinarily a very stable substance but in adverse circumstances it is liable to attack from insects and fungi. The leather may also undergo general deterioration and drying up thus losing its flexibility. The durability and keeping quality of leather can be greatly enhanced by the application of a leather preservative containing waxy substances and insecticides. A formula of dressing for leather book bindings which has been developed at the British Museum, London, is given here.

Lanolin anhydrous	.	.	.	.	7 oz (avo r)
Beeswax	..	..	..	..	½ oz (avo r)
Cedarwood oil	..	.	..	..	1 oz (fluid)
Hazard	..	..	.	..	11 oz (fluid)

That is enough. If the leather is not too dry, it will be polished for two or three times. This formula is

desirable in order to suit the climatic conditions at Poona.

APPENDIX E.

Thymol Fumigation is being practised in the Imperial Record Department as an immediate preventive measure against mildew whose incidence during moist and warm weather increases rapidly. Thymol vapour certainly checks mildew growth but its effect is not very lasting. In this system of thymol fumigation records are spread over perforated shelves enclosed in a wooden chamber and thymol crystals, placed in a watch glass, are made to vaporise from below by applying heat with a view to saturate the closed space with thymol vapour. Records infested with mildew are first cleaned and then fumigated for 24 to 72 hours. The cost of each chamber is about Rs 50 and that of thymol Rs 7 per lb. Consumption of thymol per chamber per month is not likely to exceed one pound.

Paradichlorobenzene Fumigation—Records may also be fumigated with paradichlorobenzene which is a white powder subliming at the ordinary temperature. The fumigation must be done in a closed chamber or a steel box in which records are placed in alternate layers with paradichlorobenzene dusted on a stretched linen. The cost of each lb. of paradichlorobenzene is Rs 120 only.

Vacuum Fumigation—The best method of preventing damage to records by insects and fungi is to fumigate them in a vacuum vault. In vacuum fumigation commodities are placed in a gas tight steel chamber and a large proportion of the air is removed and replaced with a gas lethal to insects. It is the most effective remedy hitherto known because the fumigant penetrates into pores and interstices and kills the insects as well as their larvae within a short time. Lack of oxygen renders insects more susceptible to a lethal gas. The bundles which presumably contain brittle records need not be opened, as they have to be, during ordinary fumigations. The fumigants are sometimes quite poisonous, but the use of a vacuum fumigation vault makes the detection of any leakage rather easy, so that operators are quite safe.

Hydrocyanic acid, Ethylene chloride, carbontetrachloride, carbonbisulphide, Ethylene oxide, carbon dioxide, Methyl formate, carbondioxide—all these fumigants are 100% effective for killing all storage insects within 24 hours and they have no deleterious effect on paper. A fumigation chamber ($4\frac{1}{2}' \times 5' \times 11'$) suitable for

expert supervision

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under

APPENDIX F.

the process to strong ion in the

should be able to prevent almost completely any aging. Air conditioning is a near approach to that ideal.

There are different types of air conditioning systems and we shall have to select one with contrivances to suit our special requirements. The problem before us is to control not only temperature and humidity but also circulation and distribution of air inside rooms to be conditioned. The main objects of an air conditioning system in a Record Office are to produce and maintain (i) proper temperature (ii) correct degree of humidity (iii) purity of air by eliminating dust particles and acid fumes from the incoming air, (iv) proper amount of air motion and (v) adequate ventilation. These indoor conditions must be accomplished simultaneously and automatically regardless of change in outside conditions. The first approach to a proper design is an accurate estimate of heat load to be encountered and overcome. This will need a careful study of the construction and location of the space to be conditioned, the outside temperatures and humidities, transfer of heat through the building constructions, its exposure to the sun and the like. It will thus be seen that besides collecting data for control of humidity and temperature it is essential to study such technical aspects of the question as heat transfer, refrigeration load calculations etc.

It has been found from experience gained in the National Archives U S A and other American libraries that the optimum temperature should be between 70°F and 80°F while the relative humidity should be 50%. From readings taken in our Department of relative humidity and temperature in the stack rooms and from the alarming divergence from that of the optimum we are now able to realise the seriousness of the problem and we are certain that unless air conditioning is taken recourse to, records cannot be properly preserved and decay of brittle records cannot be prevented for any great length of time. Modern research has conclusively proved that air conditioning of archives and libraries is not merely a luxury but a dire necessity.

APPENDIX G

1 Statement showing cost of additional establishment

6 senior members on	Rs 20—1—40	
14 junior members on	Rs 15—1—35	
4 dusting bearers on	Rs 13—1/5—17	
Cost for the first year		Rs 4 554 0 0
Cost of deputation of a son or member from the Imperial Record Department		
(i) pay at Rs 60 p m	Rs 720 0 0	
(ii) transport	Rs 140 0 0	
For rounding		Rs 800 0 0
		Rs 30 0 0
Actual total cost for the first year		Rs 5 490 0 0
Cost of the additional establishment calculated on the basis of average pay		Rs 7 560 0 0

2 Statement showing the expected annual consumptions and cost of repairing and preservative materials for work to be done by ten menders

Serial No	Name of material	Yearly consumption	Rate	Total	Remarks
			Rs	Rs	
1 <i>Repairing</i>	Handmade paper	10 reams	85	850	
	Japanese Tissue paper	10 reams	11	110	
	Chiffon	300 yds of 44" width.	2	640	
	Dextrine Paste	600 lbs	As 2/6/	94	
2 <i>Preservative</i>	Leather Preservative mixture	84 lbs	Rs 1/14/	138	
	Thymol	10 lbs (for one chamber)	7	70	
	Naphthalene Brick	1 brick of 1 lb for every ten running ft of shelf space	23 per cwt		112 bricks make one cwt
	Creosote oil		Rs 1/8/ per gallon.		

3 Description of implements required

Knife	Rs 1 8 0 per dozen
Scissors	Rs 4 11 0 per dozen
Needles	Rs 5 4 0 per 1000
Shoe	
Cups	
Plates	
Malmul	
Trays	
Brush	
Hand Press	

APPENDIX B (I)

Report of the second meeting of the Standing Local Records Sub-Committee held on the
18th March 1940

PRESENT

MR JOHN SARGENT, M A	<i>Chairman</i>
Capt D G HARRINGTON HAWES	<i>Member</i>
DR T G P SPEAR, M A Ph D	<i>Member</i>
Dr S N SEN, M A , Ph D , B Litt (Oxon)	<i>Secretary</i>

REPORT

1 Transcription of faded and brittle manuscript Index volumes

Resolution I —Resolved that in the opinion of the Sub Committee it is desirable to have typed copies of all fading documents and the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India should make a survey of the old documents with a view to forming a precise estimate of the amount of work likely to be involved

2 Consideration of the draft rules (as revised) regulating inspection of historical records in the custody of the Imperial Record Department

Resolution II —Resolved that the Rules as revised by the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India be approved with necessary modifications suggested by the Sub Committee

3 Disposal of certain worm eaten and mutilated documents

Resolution III —Resolved that the documents be destroyed

4 Substitution of the designation Senior and Junior menders for the Sorters and Daftaris employed on repairing documents

Resolution IV —Resolved that the change of the designation suggested be approved

Signature—

JOHN SARGENT, *Chairman*

D G HARRINGTON HAWES, *Member.*

T G P SPEAR, *Member*

S N SEN, *Secretary*

APPENDIX B (II)

Report of the third meeting of the Standing Local Records Sub-Committee held on the
30th November 1940

PRESENT

MR JOHN SARGENT, M A *Chairman*

Captain N RAMSAY, *Member*

DR T G P SPEAR, M A Ph D *Member*

DR S N SEN, M A Ph D B Litt (Oxon), *Secretary*

1 Indexing of the Preliminary records

Resolution I—Resolved (i) that A and B class documents of the late Foreign and Political Department be kept in their original serial order and (ii) that one volume of cumulative index be compiled for all A and B class records of all the series up to the year 1789 and from 1790 for successive quinquennia

2 Possibility of manufacturing in India (1) Hydraulic Press for laminating documents with cellulose acetate foil, (2) Vacuum fumigatorium for regular treatment of records against insect ravages

Resolution II—Resolved that further details on the subject be collected

3 Air Conditioning of the Imperial Record Department Building by parts

Resolution III—Resolved that the Central Public Works Department be asked for advice in the matter

4 Transfer of the Old Military records of the Government of Bombay to the Imperial Record Department

Resolution IV—Resolved that arrangements be made for the transfer of this important series of records from Bombay provided the extra cost could be met from the savings in the Imperial Record Department budget

5 Equipment for Research Room in the Imperial Record Department

Resolution V—Resolved that furniture worth Rs 750 be purchased for the Research Room, provided the money could be found from the Imperial Record Department budget

Signature—

JOHN SARGENT, *Chairman*

N RAMSAY, *Member*

T G P SPEAR, *Member*

S N SEN, *Secretary*

APPENDIX C

LIST OF RESEARCH REPORTS

	Page
1 Mr H G Rawlinson M.A. CIE	1
2 Dr K R Subramanian M.A. Ph.D.	
3 Rao Sahib C S Srinivasachari M.A.	
4 Mr K. A. Nilakanta Sastri M.A.	
5 Sri Vidyasagara Vidyavachaspati P. P. Subrahmanya Sastriar B.A. (Oxon)	2
6 Sri Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagadev Rajabhadur M.R.A.S.	3
7 Dr B. A. Saletore M.A. Ph.D. (Lond.) D.Phil. (Giesse)	
8 Dr R. G. Majumdar M.A. Ph.D. (Cal.)	
9 Dr J. C. Sinha M.A. Ph.D. (Lond.)	4
10 Mr D. N. Banerjee M.A.	
11 Mr L. P. Dutta M.R.A.S. F.R.S. (Lond.)	
12 Dr N. K. Sinha, M.A. Ph.D.	
13 Dr Radhakumud Mookerj M.A. P.R.S. Ph.D. M.L.C.	
14 Dr Nandalal Chatterj M.A. Ph.D. D.Litt.	
15 Khan Bahadur Mauli Zafar Hasan B.A.	5
16 Sardar Ganda Singh M.A.	
17 Mr K. P. Mitra M.A. B.L.	6
18 Mr K. K. Basu M.A.	
19 Mr S. A. Shere M.A. (Lond.) LL.B.	7
20 Dr Kalkinkar Datta M.A. Ph.D. P.R.S.	
21 Ra Bahadur Dr S. K. Bhuyan M.A. B.L. (Cal.) Ph.D. (Lond.)	
22 Mr S. C. Goswami I.S.O.	
23 Mr S. M. Zaffar B.A. M.R.A.S. (Lond.)	8
24 Dr T. G. P. Spear M.A. Ph.D. (Cantab.)	
25 Dr Bool Chand M.A. Ph.D. (Lond.)	
26 Rajachantravishareda Rao Sahib C. Hayavadana Rao B.A. B.L.	
27 Pandit B. Sheshwamath Reu. Sahityacharya	9
28 Dr Bal Krishna M.A. Ph.D. F.R.E.S. F.S.S. F.R.Hist.S.	
29 Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. K. be M.A.	
30 Srimati I. Amalabai Kibe	
31 Mr P. Acharya B.Sc. M.R.A.S.	

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32 Mr R Vasudeva Paduval B A	10
33 Cavalhero Panduranga Pissuriencar	
34 Mons Alfred Lehuraux	
35 Mr G H Luce M A I E S	13
36 A note on the Mackenzie Ms by Mr K A Nilakanta Sastri M A	1
37 A note on the Map regarding the boundary of Midnapore and Orissa in 1803 by Mr P Acharya B Sc M R A S	5 14

Research Reports from the Corresponding Members of the Indian Historical Records Commission (1st April 1939 to 31st March 1940).

1. Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., O.I.E., London.

Wrote the following book —

A History of the 3/7th Rajput Regiment (D C O)

(This is being published by the Oxford University Press)

2. Dr. K. R. Subramanian, M.A., Ph.D., Vizianagram.

Wrote the following papers —

(1) History of Andhra Commerce (Immortal Message, Bezwada, November 1939)

(2) Vijayaditya III, a famous Eastern Chalukyan King (Rao Bahadur K V Rangaswami Iyengar 61st Birthday Commemoration Volume)

3 Rao Sahib O. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Annamalaiagar.

Wrote the following book —

History of Gingee (French version)

Wrote the following papers —

(1) History of Triplicane under the Company's Rule [Contributed to the History of Triplicane Temple (in the press), to be published by the Trustee of the temple]

(2) When Madras was attacked, Parts I II (New Review, Vol IX, Calcutta).

(3) The Temple in the Tamil Land and its service (New Review, Calcutta)

(4) Two Contemporary Pictures of Maharajah Ranjit Singh (Maharajah Ranjit Singh Centenary Volume, Cawnpore)

(5) Yusuf Khan's rebellion and the French attempt at recovery (1762-64). (I H R C Procs., Vol XVI)

(6) Vignettes from the Dary of Ananda Ranga Pillai of Pondicherry (1736-61) (The Indian History Congress Calcutta, December 1939)

4 Mr. K. A Nilakanta Sastri, M.A., Madras

Wrote the following book —

Foreign Notices of South India from Megasthenes to Fa Hian

In continuing the study of the South Indian influences in Malay Peninsula and Archipelago and published two papers (i) Kataha and (ii) Notes on the Historical Geography of Malay Peninsula (Journal of the Greater India Society, Vols V and VII, respectively)

Wrote the following papers —

- (1) A note on the date of Śaṅkara (Journal of Oriental Research, Vol XI)
- (2) Southern India, Arabia and Africa (New Indian Antiquary, Vol I)
- (3) The Ceylon Expedition of Jatavarṇa Vira Panday (8th All India Oriental Conference)
- (4) Last days of Vijayanagara (Sardesai Commemoration Volume)
- (5) Śrī Purambiyam (Journal of Oriental Research, Vol XII)
- (6) The beginnings of intercourse between India and China (Indian Historical Quarterly Vol XIV)
- (7) Sendan Divakaram (Annals of Oriental Research)
- (8) Rājaraṇa I and Coda Bhima (Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol XII)
- (9) Ratio of Silver to Gold under Cola rule—a correction (Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society Vol XII)
- (10) Two silver plate grants from Baṭṭiāra Museum (Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal Land en Volkenkunde Deel LXXIX)
- (11) Beginnings of British Justice in Madras (Madras Tercentenary commemoration volume)
- (12) Tirumala Nāṭh the Portuguese and the Dutch (I H R C Proc Vol XVI)
- (13) The conception of empire in Ancient India (Indian History Congress, Calcutta, 1939)
- (14) Gleanings from Mṛtṣya Purāṇa on War and Peace (Annals of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute)

Translated some sheets of Anandaranga Pillai's diary (unpublished so far) received from Professor G. J. Dubreuil of Pondicherry by courtesy of M. Leclercq of Chandernagore. Later on obtained through the good offices of the same Professor a manuscript which is a continuation of Anandaranga Pillai's diary by Tiruvengadam Pillai. This diary is quite as valuable as that of Anandaranga Pillai translated and published by the Government of Madras in twelve volumes. Tiruvengadam's diary is now being translated in collaboration with Prof. G. J. Dubreuil of Pondicherry and it is intended to edit and publish the translations as they throw much light on the political transactions and social life of the period. All these manuscripts belong to M. Gallois Montfiron of Pondicherry.

A report on his work on the Mackenzie Manuscripts will be found at the end of the research report.

5. Sri Vidyasagara Vidyavachaspati P. P. Subrahmanya Sastriar, B A,
(Oxon), Madras

Has listed the Mackenzie manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras and prepared a detailed table of contents for the publication of a Handbook.

Has edited the Halayudha Stotra from the inscriptions on the walls of the Arunachaleswara Temple (Published in part IV, Volume XXV of the Epigraphia Indica).

Wrote the following papers —

- (1) A note on the date of Sankara (Journal of Oriental Research, Vol XI)
- (2) Southern India, Arabia and Africa (New Indian Antiquary, Vol I)
- (3) The Ceylon Expedition of Jatavarman Vira Pandaya (8th All India Oriental Conference)
- (4) Last days of Vijayanagara (Sardesai Commemoration Volume)
- (5) Sri Purambiyam (Journal of Oriental Research, Vol XII)
- (6) The beginnings of intercourse between India and China (Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol XIV)
- (7) Sendan Divakaram (Annals of Oriental Research)
- (8) Rajaraja I and Coda Bhima (Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol XII)
- (9) Latio of Silver to Gold under Cola rule—A correction (Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol XII)
- (10) Two silver plate grants from Batavia Museum (Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal Land, en Volkenkunde, Deel LXXIX)
- (11) Beginnings of British Justice in Madras (Madras Tercentenary commemoration volume)
- (12) Tirumala Naik, the Portuguese and the Dutch (I H R C Procs Vol XVI)
- (13) The conception of empire in Ancient India (Indian History Congress, Calcutta, 1939)
- (14) Gleanings from Matsya Purana on War and Peace (Annals of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute)

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Has edited the Halayudha Stotra from the inscriptions on the walls of the Annaswari Temple (Published in part IV, Volume XXV of the Epigraphia Indica)

Has contributed the following papers —

- (1) Appayya Diksita—The authenticity of his quotation (Prof K V Rangaswami Iyengar Commemoration Volume, Madras)
- (2) Problems of Identity—(a) Vedic Brihaspati and Classical Ganapati (b) Govindananda and Ramananda (Tenth All India Oriental Conference 1940)

6. Sri Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagadev, Rajabahadur M R A S , Tekkali.

Wrote the following papers in the vernacular journal *Sahakar* —

- (1) Ravikram Deb's Grant of Upalada village
- (2) Grant of Maharaja Kapileswara Deb
- (3) Grant of Sunkalabad Village by Sri Jagannath Narayana Deb

7. Dr. B. A. Saletore, M A , Ph D. (Lond), D Phil. (Giessen), Ahmedabad.

Wrote the following book —

Kannada Sources for Maratha, Bijapur, and Mughal History (To be published shortly)

Wrote the following papers —

- (1) Sravana Belgola—Its Secular Importance (The Jaina Antiquary Abganj)
- (2) The Pallava Conquest of the Western Coast (The Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry)
- (3) Vaisnavism in Vijayanagara (Dr D R Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, Calcutta)
- (4) A Note on the Origin of Vijayanagara (The Indian Culture Calcutta)
- (5) The Sikhs in the South (Paper read at the III Session of the Modern History Congress, Calcutta)
- (6) General Randullah Khan's Ikkeri Expeditions (Proc of I H R C , Vol XVI)
- (7) Guru Akalanda Deva—His age (The Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta)

Edited and published the Karnataka Historical Review V P I

Is endeavouring to trace the whereabouts of a valuable collection of documents relating to Maratha—Karnataka history in and around Dharwar—and a collection of Mughal Imperial Farmans in Ahmedabad

8. Dr. R C. Majumdar, M A , Ph D (Cal), Dacca

[Wrote —

- (1) Six articles in Bengali dealing with the genealogical accounts contained in the old Mss in Bengal of the 15th or 16th century A D known as Kulajis (Bharatvarsa Kartik—Falgun 1346)
- (2) "Lama Taranatha's account of Bengal" dealing with the history of the ancient kingdom of Vangala (to be published in the Indian Historical Quarterly)

(3) 'The physical features of Mediaeval Bengal' in which the author has tried to trace the old course of the more important rivers in Bengal (to be published in Indian Culture)

Is also editing a manuscript of Desavali Vivriti (written early in the 17th century A D) which gives an interesting geographical account of Bengal

9. Dr. J. C. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), Calcutta.

Is engaged in editing a volume of Poona Residency Records dealing with the social and economic life of Maharashtra during the period 1795-1813. Expects to complete the work by the end of this year

10. Mr. D. N. Banerjee, M.A., Dacca.

Wrote the following paper —

(1) The Accession of Nazm ud Daulah to the throne of Bengal and the position of the First India Company (I H R C Procs, Vol XVI)

11. Mr. L. P. Dutta, M.R.A.S., F.R.S.A (London), Calcutta.

Is engaged in the compilation of a genealogical table of the Hatkhola Dutt family of Calcutta, with a historical account of its members from the 12th century to the present day. The history of the family is closely connected with the early history of the East India Company in Bengal and Bihar

12. Dr. N. K. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Calcutta.

Wrote the following papers —

(1) Hyder Ali's relations with the Murathas, 1763—65 (I H R C Procs, Vol XVI)

(2) Hyder Ali's relations with the Marathas 1766-67 (Indian Historical Quarterly, March, 1940)

Also read an article on 'Peshwa Madhava Rao and the First Anglo Mysore War' at the 3rd Session of the Indian History Congress December 1939

13. Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D., M.L.C., Lucknow.

Compiled the following work —

"Indian Land system, Ancient, Mediaeval, and Modern up to 1793 A D with special reference to Bengal". It will be published by the Bengal Government as a part of the "Report of the Bengal Land Revenue Commission", of which he had been a member

14. Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., Lucknow.

Published the following book —

Verelst's Rule in India (based on contemporary manuscript records preserved in the record offices at London Delhi and Calcutta)

Wrote the following papers —

(1) A forgotten dispute regarding the right of a Governor to hold the title of Commander in Chief (I H R C Procs, Vol, XVI)

(2) The Anglo-Dutch disputes in Bengal (Proceedings of the 3rd Session of the Indian History Congress, 1939)

(3) The future of Parliamentary Government in India (Twentieth Century, Vol VI, No 63)

(4) The miscarriage of Shah Alam's Imperialist adventure in 1769 (Journal of Modern Indian History Society, Lucknow University, Vol I)

(5) Has Democracy failed in India? (Bihar Herald, Vol II, No 6)

(6) The Glories of Mughal Architecture (Hindustan Standard, Pujah Number, 1939)

(7) Mughal Pastimes (Advance, Pujah Number, 1939)

(8) Did Italians introduce the *Pietra Dura* in India? (Amrita Bazar Patrika, Pujah Number, 1939)

(9) Is the Qutb Minar a Hindu Monument? (Scholar, Annual Number, 1939)

Read papers on the following historical topics from the All India Radio Station at Lucknow —

(1) Mughal Pastimes

(2) Mughal Architecture

(3) The United Provinces—Pre-Reform Period

(4) The United Provinces—Montford Reforms

(5) The United Provinces—After Autonomy

Is at present engaged in studying the M's records relating to the East India Company's administration in India

Is engaged in supervising the research work of a number of Ph D students in the Lucknow University and is assisting them in collecting historical material from the hitherto unexplored M's records of the Government of the United Provinces

15. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan, B.A., Agra.

Wrote the following papers —

(1) A few Mughal documents (Tenth All India Oriental Conference, Tirupati, 1940)

(2) A Persian inscription of Alauddin Khalji discovered at Muttra (Epigraphia Indo Moslemica)

16. Sardar Ganda Singh, M.A., Amritsar

Wrote the following books and papers —

(1) Maharaja Ranjit Singh Centenary Volume, 1939

(2) Qazi Nur Muhammad's Jang Nama, giving an account of Ahmad Shah Durrani's Seventh invasion

(3) The Maratha Sikh Treaty of 1765 (Indian History Congress, Calcutta, December 1939)

(4) Sir Charles Wilkins Observations on The Sikhs and their College at Patna

(5) Maharaja Duleep Singh Dian Do Chitthian—Two letters of the Maharaja dated October 1885 and March 9, 1886

Edited—Aggra's Var Haqiqat Rai

Examined Persian manuscripts in the State Libraries of Kapurthala and Rampur for material relating to the history of the Sikhs in the 18th century

Selected with the help of Rao Bahadur G S Sardesai 678 letters from the Marathi records dealing with the Punjab or the Sikhs

Worked on the Persian Akhbarat in the Alienation Office, Poona and classified them (I H R C Procs, Vol XVI)

Selected 81 letters dealing with the activities of the Sikh Sardars in the latter half of the 18th century from the collection of the Persian news letters in the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, Poona

17. Mr. K. P. Mitra, M.A., B.L., Monghyr.

Wrote the following papers —

(1) Magic and Miracle in Jain Literature (Indian Historical Quarterly, July, 1939)

(2) Who were the Pandvas of Madura? (Indian Historical Quarterly, September 1939)

(3) Some Popular derivations in Jain Literature (a) Brahmin and his Yajnapavita (Indian Culture April, 1939)

(4) Defence of the Frontier of Bihar and Orissa against Maharatta and Pindari Incursions (I H R C Procs, Vol XVI)

(5) Jain Influence at Mughal Court (Third Session of the Indian History Congress, Calcutta, December, 1939)

(6) Bahubali Gommates' vara (to be published in Jain Antiquary)

(7) Defence of Patna City against Pindari Incursion (to be published in Indian Historical Quarterly)

Is engaged in research regarding —

(1) Social condition of India from Jain sources

(2) Revenue History of Bihar from Provincial Records

18. Mr. K. K. Basu, M.A., Bhagalpore.

Is engaged in —

(1) preparing a work on the history of the mediaeval Muslim Dynasties of South India

(2) editing "Sirat-i-Firozshahi" dealing with the history of Firozshah Tughluq

Wrote the following papers —

(1) The poets of Bijapur and their Philosophy (I H R C Procs, Vol. XVI)

(2) The Siege of Asir—A new study (3rd Session Indian History Congress, 1939)

(3) Firoz Tughluq as a ruler (Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta)

19. Mr. S. A. Shere, M.A. (Lond.), LL.B., Patna

Is engaged in researches on 'The Sharqu Dynasty of Jaunpur and Muslim Architecture in Bihar' Discovered a Royal Farman of the Emperor Shah Alam granting some land in Village Abdur Rahman for a Peruzim or, Pihulwari which is in the Sarkar and Subah of Bihar The Farman bears the seal of Shah Alam Bahadur Shah Ghazi Abul Muzaffar Jalaluddin—Regnal year I Size 2'9" x 1'6½"

20. Dr. Kalinkar Datta, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S., Patna.

Wrote the following papers —

(1) Two brothers of Saadat Ali of Oudh (Proc. of the 3rd Session of the Indian History Congress, 1939)

(2) Alivardi and the Mayurbhanj Rajah (Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society)

(3) Durlabhram (Annual number, Indian Historical Quarterly)

Is engaged in writing a thesis on —

Shah Alam and the English

Examined the following documents —

(1) Letters from Bengal to the Court of Directors from 1733-39 A.D. (for contributing a chapter on the 'Successors of Murshid Quli to the "History of Bengal" to be published by the Dacca University)

(2) Transcripts of some unpublished Mutiny papers from the Commissioner's office, Panchi, for preparing his thesis on 'The Mutiny in Bihar, Chota Nagpur Manbhum and Singhbhum'

(3) Unpublished English records relating to Bihar history during the first four decades of the 19th century (These records have been shifted from the record room of the District Judge of Patna to the Library of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society after being sorted by him)

(4) Bundles of letters in the possession of Babu Kedar Nath Khanna (Clerk, Patna College) at Dinapore, which throw some interesting light on the economic history of Bihar, particularly Dinapore, since the thirties of the 19th century

Inspected tombs of some military officers who fell in course of the Mutiny (1857-59) in the compound of the Sub Divisional officer, Deoghar Santhal Parganae Some of these have inscriptions containing names and dates

21. Rai Bahadur Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, M.A., B.L. (Cal.), Ph.D. (London), Shillong.

Has edited 'Dr Francis Hamilton's Account of Assam compiled in 1807-14 on behalf of the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam' Is also engaged in revising his work entitled, "Anglo Assamese Relations"

22. Mr. S. C. Goswami, I S O., Assam.

Has completed the editing of—

(1) (a) Satwata Tantra and (b) Niti Latankur on Rajniti, and

(2) descriptive catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts referred to in the last year's report

(5) Maharaja Duleep Singh Dian Do Chitthian—Two letters of the Maharaja dated October 1885 and March 9, 1886

Edited—Aggra's Var Haqiqat Rai

Examined Persian manuscripts in the State Libraries of Kapurthala and Rampur for material relating to the history of the Sikhs in the 18th century

Selected with the help of Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai 678 letters from the Marathi records dealing with the Punjab or the Sikhs

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Wrote the following papers —

(1) Magic and Miracle in Jain Literature (Indian Historical Quarterly, July, 1939)

(2) Who were the Pandyas of Madura? (Indian Historical Quarterly, September 1939)

(3) Some Popular derivations in Jain Literature (a) Brahmin and his Yajñopavita (Indian Culture, April 1939)

(4) Defence of the Frontier of Bihar and Orissa against Maharatta and Pindari Incursions (I H R C Procs, Vol XVI)

(5) Jain Influence at Mughal Court (Third Session of the Indian History Congress, Calcutta, December, 1939)

(6) Bahubali Gommates' vara (to be published in Jain Antiquary)

(7) Defence of Patna City against Pindari Incursion (to be published in Indian Historical Quarterly)

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(1) Social condition of India from Jain sources

(2) Revenue History of Bihar from Provincial Records

18. Mr. K. K. Basu, M.A., Bhagalpore.

Is engaged in —

(1) preparing a work on the history of the mediaeval Muslim Dynasties of South India

(2) editing 'Sirat-i-Firozshahi' dealing with the history of Firozshah Tughluq

Wrote the following papers —

(1) The poets of Bijapur and their Philosophy (I H R C Procs, Vol. XVI)

(2) The Siege of Asir—A new study (8rd Session Indian History Congress, 1939)

(3) Firoz Tughluq as a ruler (Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta)

19 Mr S. A. Shere MA (Lond), LL B, Patna

Is engaged in researches on 'The Sharq Dynasty of Junjor and Muslim Architecture in Bihar'. Discovered a Royal Iarnan of the Emperor Shah Alam granting some land in Village Alur Bihari for a Perma or Pehlwan which is in the Sarkar and Suba of Bihar. The Iarnan bears the seal of Shah Alam Bahadur Shah Ghazi Abul Muzaffar Jalaluddin—Regnal year I. Size 2'0" x 1'6½"

20 Dr Kalikinkar Datta, MA, Ph D, P R S, Patna

Wrote the following papers —

- (1) Two Brothers of Saadat Ali of Oudh (Lects. of the 3rd Session of the Indian History Congress 1939)
- (2) Alvarda and the Mavurbhanj Rajah (Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society)
- (3) Durlabhram (Annual number Indian Historical Quarterly)

Is engaged in writing a thesis on —

Shah Alam and the English

Examined the following documents —

- (1) Letters from Bengal to the Court of Directors from 1733-39 A D (for contributing a chapter on the Successors of Murshid Quli to the History of Bengal to be published by the Dacca University)
- (2) Transcripts of some unpublished Mutiny papers from the Commissioner's office Lanchi for preparing his thesis on 'The Mutiny in Bihar Chota Nagpur Manbhum and Singhbhum'
- (3) Unpublished English records relating to Bihar history during the first four decades of the 19th century (These records have been shifted from the record room of the District Judge of Patna to the Library of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society after being sorted by him)
- (4) Bundles of letters in the possession of Babu Kedar Nath Khanna (Clerk Patna College) at Dinapore which throw some interesting light on the economic history of Bihar particularly Dinapore since the thirties of the 19th century

Inspected tombs of some military officers who fell in course of the Mutiny (1857-59) in the compound of the Sub Divisional officer Deoghar Santhal Parganah. Some of these have inscriptions containing names and dates

21 Rai Bahadur Dr S K Bhuyan MA, B L (Cal), Ph D (London), Shillong

Has edited Dr Francis Hamilton's Account of Assam compiled in 1807-14 on behalf of the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies Assam. Is also engaged in revising his work entitled Anglo Assamese Relations

22 Mr S O Goswami, I S O Assam

Has completed the editing of—

- (1) (a) Satwata Tantra and (b) Niti Latankur on Rajniti and
- (2) descriptive catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts referred to in the last year's report

Has also discovered a land grant of the Emperor Aurangzeb to a Hindu Temple at Gauhati bearing the date 1667 A D

23. Mr. S. M. Zaffar, B.A., M.R.A.S. (Lond.), Peshawar.

Wrote the following books —

- (1) Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India
- (2) Mediaeval India Under Muslim Kings, Vol II—the Ghaznavids

Wrote the following paper —

A Monument of the Mughal Period—Mosque of Mahabat Khan in Peshawar (Islamic Culture, Hyderabad—Deccan)

Is engaged in examining certain documents in the possession of the following private individuals —

- (1) Mr Pir Bakhsh Khan, M.L.A. (Peshawar)
- (2) Sahibzada Hafiz Sayyed Fazl Samdani founder and manager of the Dar ul Ulum Rafi ul Islam

24. Dr T. G. P. Spear, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.), Delhi

Wrote the following papers —

- (1) Lord William Bentinck (Two articles—The United Provinces Historical Journal, April 1940 and Journal of the Indian History, April 1940)
 - (2) Lord Ellenborough and Lord William Bentinck (Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 1939)
 - (3) Administration of the Delhi Territory (Journal of the Indian History)
- Is engaged in research on the following subjects —
- (1) India in the time of Lord William Bentinck
 - (2) Delhi and its territory, 1761 to 1858

25. Dr. Bool Chand, M.A. Ph.D. (Lond.), Delhi.

Wrote the following papers —

- (1) Administrative Determinations (University of Toronto Law Journal, May 1939)
- (2) How will conventions arise in the new Indian Constitution? (Indian Journal of Political Science, July 1939)
- (3) The Fascist State (The Muslim University Magazine—September 1939)
- (4) Constituent Assembly (Modern Review, March 1940)
- (5) The Role of Federalism in the History of Political thought (Modern Review April, 1939)

26. Rajacharitravisharada Rao Saheb G. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L., Bangalore.

Wrote the following book —

History of Mysore, Vol II 1761-1782 (in the press)

27. Pandit Bisheshwarnath Reu, Sahityacharya, Jodhpur.

Wrote the following book:—

History of Marwar, 1803 1938 A. D., Part II.

Wrote the following papers:—

(1) Maharajah Abhai Singh of Marwar and the Nizam (I. H. R. C. Procs., Vol. XVI)

(2) Maharajah Abhai Singh of Jodhpur and the tactics of the Nizam (Indian History Congress, 3rd Session, 1939)

(3) The early Rashtrakutas of Deccan and Nizam's dominion (All India Oriental Conference, 10th Session, Tirupati, 1940)

28. Dr. Bal Krishna, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.E.S., F.S.S., F.R.Hist.S., Kolhapur.

Secured photographic copies of some documents with a view to identifying the handwriting of Raja Shahu I of Satara and of Raja Sambhaji I of Kolhapur.

Made arrangement to get copies of the Dutch documents from the Hague Records Office but could not do anything substantial in this respect owing to the European War

29. Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe, M.A., Indore.

Is engaged in examining the following records —

(1) The Kibe family (Indore) records which will throw light on the history of Central India from 1600 to 1857 A. D.

(2) The records of the family of Srinant Khandekar, the Jahgirdar of Panth Pipoda

(3) Bant family records at Partargarh (Rajputana)

Has acquired some records belonging to late Mr S. V. Athalve, B.A. of Shiposhi, Ratnagiri District and proposes to make them over to Bharata Itihas Samshodhaka Mandala, Poona, as they are related to Maratha history

30. Sreemati Kamalabai Kibe, Indore.

Is engaged in examining the Kibe family records (Indore)

31. Mr. P. Acharya, B.Sc., M.R.A.S., Mayurbhanj.

Is engaged in—

(1) preparing a map of the boundary of the British possession in Midnapore and Orissa before the conquest of Orissa or Cuttack in 1803. A short note on this subject will be found at the end of the research report

(2) determining the date and the name of the capital of the Somavams.—Kesari Kings of Orissa

Since the days of publication of the Tirumalai inscriptions of Rajendra Chola the actual reading of the text of Yayatinagara the Capital of Somavams—Kesari Kings of Orissa was taken to be as Adinagar. But from a study of the geography of the expedition of Rajendra

Chola and in consultation with the Epigraphist to the Government of India, the conclusion has been reached that Yavatnagar should be read in place of Adinagar. From this identification the date of the Somavamsi Kings of Orissa which was so far assigned from palaeographic evidence has been correctly ascertained. Definite data have also been collected regarding the route of the expedition which differs from that fixed by Prof. Nilakanta Sastri and Dr S K Aiyangar of Madras.

A prehistoric site containing palaeolithic implements has been discovered at Kulana in Mayurbhanj State.

Gupta gold coins of the archer type of Chandragupta II have been found in Mayurbhanj.

32. Mr R. Vasudeva Poduval, B A , Trivandrum

Examined the historical records of the pre mutiny period available in the British Residency at Trivandrum.

33. Cavallero Panduranga Pissurlencar, Nova Goa.

Brought out the VIIIth part of his work entitled "Portugueses e Marathas Tentativos para a Restauração da Provincia do Norte" (The Portuguese and the Marathas Attempts for the recovery of the Province of the North).

34. Mons. Alfred Lehuraux Chandernagore.

1 The original manuscript of Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary was discovered over 90 years ago in the home of the diarist's descendants by Monsieur A Gallois Montbrun—whose family is represented by Mr Armand Gallois-Montbrun Jr a former member of the Paris Bar, and the Agent of the B I S N. Company at Pondicherry.

At the Montbrun Mansion at Pondicherry, Mons Lehuraux was allowed to examine the papers left by the founder, comprising a mass of Ms Notes, collected from every conceivable source, on every possible topic connected with Indian history, legend, politics, grammar, language, religion, mythology, epigraphy, astronomy and numismatics. It forms a curious collection of miscellaneous data very much the worse for age, that a library might be glad to possess provided its literary and historical value are rigorously tested. Among them Mons Lehuraux found the three manuscripts mentioned below—

Ms (1) Pages in Tamil which, on examination by Professor K A Nilakanta Sastri, were found to be unpublished pages of Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary. (Will form Vol XIII of the Madras edition)

Ms (2) A chronicle in Tamil which the same authority pronounced to be the continuation of the Diary carried on after the death of the diarist.

Ms (3) A Tamil Ms, without the name of the author or the title which proved to be a copy of the *Carnataka Rajatala Siritara Chantiram* written by a certain Nayarana Pillai son of Kalaha Rama Ranga Pillai. It deals with the king of the Carnatic and was compiled from Hindu and Muslim sources. The fragment ends with the battle of Anbur and has been translated into French and annotated by Maître M Gnanou Diagou, a distinguished advocate and leader of the French Bar of Pondicherry, for the *Société de l'Histoire de l'Inde Française*. The chronicle was compiled at the instance of Colonel Wm Mackay acting Commissioner of Arcot, under the administration of Lord William Bentinck, Governor of Madras and the original may be found among the Mackenzie manuscripts.

2 Ms (1) The dates to which the entries refer are as follows —

- 1 Prayotpatti Arpisi 29 Thursday—1751 November 11
- 2 Prayotpatti Arpisi 30 Friday—1751 November 12
- 3 Prayotpatti Karttigan 1 Saturday—1751 November 18
- 4 Prayotpatti Karttigan 3 Monday—1751 November 15
- 5 Prayotpatti Karttigan 4 Tuesday—1751 November 16
- 6 Prayotpatti Karttigan 5 Wednesday—1751 November 17
- 7 Prayotpatti Karttigan 6 Thursday—1751 November 18
- 8 Prayotpatti Karttigan 10 Sunday—1751 November 28
- 9 Prayotpatti Karttigan 17 Monday—1751 November 29
- 10 Prayotpatti Karttigan 18 Tuesday—1751 November 30
- 11 Prayotpatti Margali 23 Monday—1752 January 9
- 12 Prayotpatti Margali 24 Tuesday—1752 January 4
- 13 January 6 1752
- 14 January 7, 1752
- 15 January 9, 1752
- 16 October (Sukla Purattasi 19) 1749
- 17 March 1 1750
- 18 July 20, 1751
- 19 January 6 1744
- 20 September 23 1756
- 21 15th June 1749

Professor H. A. Nilakanta Sastri, the translator, has not found any record of outstand ng importance in these pages—only one entry that under date 12 September 1751, is of sufficient interest to deserve mention here —

This morning M. Dupleix having decided to place an inscription at Dupleix Fathabad, where Nasir Jung was killed by Himmat Bahadur wrote —

The 35th year of the King Louis XV, the 3rd year of the reign of Amad-shah the French General Porvost de La Touche, acting in the name of Governor Dupleix killed Nasir Jung on this spot.

' This inscription was to be written in 6 languages viz french, tamil, telugu, kannada, gujarati and maharati. Dupleix gave the french text to the engineer M. Abeille who was to engrave it as well as the other texts.

It brings to light for the first time, the text of the inscription for the famous commemorative pillar which Dupleix selected for the projected site of the city of Dupleix Fathabad, and which was six months later, destroyed by Clive.

3 Ms (2) The chronicle written after Ananda Ranga Pillai's death is again an anonymous account of the journey of the family from Pondicherry to Tranquebar. The removal of the family was effected after the fall of Pondicherry. The chronicle opens says the translator, Professor Nilakanta Sastri, with an account of the progress of the siege but has too many gaps to constitute a consecutive narrative. The family took with them the bundle of the precious Diary (diracante), and a few swords. The account of the siege begins on the

complete cross references to all the copies of the same record that may be found in the collection to enable the student who consults it to know at a glance what there is in the collection on any particular topic

(2) The publication in *extenso* of selected manuscripts which are considered suitable for critical editions of them being brought. One manuscript Velugotivarivaramsavali has been published by Dr N Venkataramanayya Reader in Indian History, Madras University. Another Ramappayyan Ammanai has been studied and edited by Rao Saleb S Vaidyapuri Pillai Reader in Tamil University of Madras. The work has been sanctioned for publication by the Syndicate of the Madras University. A third work, the *Karuttila Rujakkal Sivastava Cantu* is also being edited by him in the original in collaboration with me. It may be added that a good portion of *Further Sources of Vijayaniger* a joint work of Dr N Venkataramanayya and myself sanctioned for publication in the University Historical series is based on the information gathered from the Mackenzie manuscript.

(3) Some early inscriptions otherwise unknown or only known in imperfect copies have been recovered with the aid of these manuscripts and will soon be published with suitable introduction and notes.

37 A note on the map under preparation by Mr P Acharya, B Sc, M R A S, Mayurbhanj regarding the boundary of Midnapore and Orissa in 1803

The boundary of the British possession in Midnapore and Orissa before the conquest of Orissa or Cuttack in 1803 is very ill defined in the published records. In order to make a clear identification a map has been prepared with the help of records showing the parganas that actually belonged to the British in the Midnapore portion of Orissa and it shows that the river Subarnarekha which was defined to be the boundary of Mughal Orissa and the Marhatta Orissa according to the treaty of 1751 executed by Nawab Alverdikhan of Bengal Bihar and Orissa was not the actual boundary. On the side of the jungle Malah of Midnapore the Pargana Dipa Kharchand lying to the north of the river was held by a feudatory of Mayurbhanj in Marhatta Orissa and the adjoining small Pargana of Barajit was in possession of the British and to the west of Barajit the Pargana Nayabasan belonging to Mayurbhanj situated on both the side of the river. On the east of Mayurbhanj, the Parganas of Naya gram Jamrapal and Olmara on the right bank of the river were in possession of Mayurbhanj out of which Pargana Olmara now is surrounded on all sides by the British Districts of Midnapore and Balasore. No information is available from published records about the Pargana Tatehabad situated between the Parganas of Olmara and Amarda of Mayurbhanj on the right bank of the river although it belongs to the Balasore district now. To the south of Jaleswar the British possession in the Pargana Bhelorachore extended upto Basta and the Parganas Jaleswar and others were again in the possession of Mayurbhanj upto the seashore. To the east of Jaleswar the Parganas Nampachaur Bhograi and Pataspur were in possession of the Marhattas and to the east of Pataspur Pargana lay the British possession of Hijili under Hughly. The map is not fully prepared as the list of villages of each Pargana could not be procured to identify the area of the Parganas in the district of Midnapore.

APPENDIX D.

Progress Report of the Classification of the Company Records in the Imperial Record Department (completed)

Serial No	Details of series	Period	No of documents classified as A & R.	No of documents classified as C	Total No of documents	Remarks
1	Select Committee	1762 1774	30	1	31	
2	Secret	1764 1859	1 28 089	12,353	1,40 442	
3	Secret and Separate	1773 1811	5 120	82	5 202	
4	Foreign	1783 1842	16 428	306	16 784	
5	Political	1790-1859	3,18,001	62 417	3 80 478	
6	Secret Department of Inspection.	1770 1787	309	9	317	
7	Public	1761 1857	85 299	1 28 807	2 14 106	
8	Public G. G. & Proceedings	1837 1855	2 128	2 047	4 175	
9	Judicial	1834 1857	7 178	12 138	19 316	
10	Judicial G. G. & Proceedings	1831 1851	915	9 757	4 672	
11	Education	1857	194	296	490	
12	Medical	1845 1857	1 683	27 938	29 621	
13	Land & revenue	1830 1859	2 664	3 283	5 947	
14	Ecclesiastical	1815 1859	9 250	19 091	11 569	
15	Railways	1850 1859			16,772	
16	Emigration	1835 1859	24 007	29 576	107	
17	Post Office	1855 1859			1 033	
18	Public Works and Electric Telegraph	1850 1859			52 443	
19	Military	1786 1859	1,59 366	1 77 120	91 498	
20	Military Up Country Proceedings	1837 1857			75 000	
21	Marine	1838 1859	50 000	59 777	9 994	
22	Estate Papers	1800 1859			50 000	
23	Quarter Master General & Proceedings	1841 1859	29 962	74 739	54 701	
24	Finance	1790 1859	68 433	59 777	1 28 010	
25	Legislative	1777 1854	28 105	4,282	3 238	
Total			9 37,227	5,67 935	15,05,167	

APPENDIX E

Imperial Record Department (Historical Research) Rules

RULES REGULATING HISTORICAL RESEARCHES AMONG THE RECORDS IN THE CUSTODY OF THE IMPERIAL RECORD DEPARTMENT

1 These rules may be called the Imperial Record Department (Historical Research) Rules. They shall govern access to all records in the custody of the Imperial Record Department including those of the Crown Representative, but the privilege of inspecting any records personally (by the research student) will be limited to the records of the period from the earliest time down to the year 1880

2 For the purposes of these rules—

- (1) The Keeper means the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India
- (2) A *bona fide* research student is a person who falls within any one of the following categories —
 - (i) Ordinary and Corresponding members of the Indian Historical Records Commission
 - (ii) Professors and Readers of a recognised University in India
 - (iii) Post Graduate research workers of a recognised University, who must satisfy the Keeper as to their *bona fides* by producing a certificate from the Vice Chancellor or the appropriate professor of their University and any further evidence that the Keeper may consider necessary
 - (iv) Any Government official accepted by the Keeper as a research student, when the work is undertaken with the approval of the Head of Department of the applicant
 - (v) Any other person accepted by Departments concerned as research students on the joint recommendation of the Keeper and the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India

3 (a) All applications under these rules, other than those from representatives or subjects of Indian States for inspection of or information from records should be addressed to the Keeper

(b) All applications from representatives or subjects of Indian States should be submitted through the local Political Officer concerned to the Political Department

(c) Research students from Indian States must produce credentials from the local Political Officer concerned about their *bona fides*

(d) Applicants who are aliens must produce introductions from His Britannic Majesty's Diplomatic or Consular Representatives in their countries of origin to satisfy the External Affairs Department that they are genuine research students

4 A *bona fide* research student may at the discretion of the Keeper be allowed to examine the records personally in the Research Room and each case will be considered on its merits on receipt of an application in the form prescribed in Appendix I

5 The Keeper may at his discretion supply such information as he considers unexceptionable to persons applying for information from the records on payment of the prescribed fees (*vide* Appendix II) subject to the following conditions —

(i) No information from the records of the Political Department and/or the External Affairs Department shall be supplied to any person who is not a *bona fide* research scholar until the material to be supplied has been examined and passed by the Political Department and/or the External Affairs Department as the case may be

(ii) No information shall be supplied to any person who is a representative or subject of an Indian State until the material to be supplied has been examined and passed by the Political Department

(iii) *Bona fide* research students will not be required to pay the examination fee mentioned in Appendix II

6 (a) Admission to the Research Room will be regulated by tickets. An admission ticket will hold good only for the period for which it has been issued, but may be renewed at the expiry of that period at the discretion of the Keeper

(b) Records may be inspected only within the Research Room and in the presence of a member of the supervisory staff. Copies of or extracts from records shall not be taken out of the office building nor shall any use be made of any information from the records without the written permission of the Keeper

(c) The Research Room will be open to all research students permitted to inspect records on every day except Sundays and other closed holidays observed by the Imperial Record Department. The hours of admission and attendance will be from 10.30 A.M. to 1.30 P.M. except on Saturday when they will be from 10.30 A.M. to 2.0 P.M. On a written request from a research student, the Research Room may be kept open on holidays for him on payment of Rs. 4 per diem. All suggestions and complaints in regard to the administration of the Research Room should be made in writing to the Superintendent of the Imperial Record Department

7 (a) All extracts taken from the records must be submitted *daily* through the Superintendent to the Keeper with a list of the documents from which excerpts have been taken in the prescribed form (*vide* Appendix III). The research students will be solely responsible for the accuracy and authenticity of the excerpts taken from the records. The excerpts will be certified as true copies only when the fees for comparing are paid at the prescribed rate (*vide* Appendix II). Such of them as the Keeper considers unobjectionable will be released. If, however, any research student feels that the decision of the Keeper is not reasonable he may apply to the Department concerned through the Keeper for the release of such extracts as the Keeper may have withheld provided that he pays in advance fees for typing and examination at the prescribed rate (*vide* Appendix II)

(b) No note or transcription shall be removed from the Research Room without the express permission of the Keeper

8 Records and documents which are of exceptional value or are unwieldy or fragile shall be examined on such conditions as the Keeper may impose. No student shall be entitled to examine records which have been labelled "unfit for production"

9 Silence shall be maintained in the Research Room. Smoking there will be strictly prohibited and no person may chew *pan* or other like substance while working in the Research Room nor may he place any articles of food on tables meant for keeping records, documents or other papers.

10 No student shall have more than five documents and two volumes at a time, except by the special permission of the Superintendent. No volume or papers shall be delivered to a student until he has submitted to the Research Room Assistant a duly signed requisition in the form provided for this purpose by the Imperial Record Department. He should return the records when no longer required to the Research Room Assistant and get back his requisition slips. A student shall be held responsible for the records issued to him so long as his requisition slip remains with the officials of the Imperial Record Department.

11 (a) Records and documents shall not be removed from the Research Room on any account. Books or other articles belonging to the Imperial Record Department shall not be removed from the office building without the specific permission of the Superintendent.

(b) Research students shall take every care of the documents and records in their possession and shall not damage them in any way.

(c) Large folio volumes shall be placed on book rests and handled as little as possible.

(d) No one shall lean on any of the documents or put one document on top of another or place upon them the paper on which he is writing.

(e) No mark of any description shall be made on any record.

(f) To avoid ink being spilt on records the use of an inkstand will not be allowed. If the volumes or documents can be placed on book rests a fountain pen may be used for the purpose of taking notes or extracts. In all other cases notes or extracts shall be taken in pencil. A research student may use his own typewriter in taking notes from records if others working in the Research Room do not take any exception.

12 (a) All copies, extracts and no cases where they are difficult to read inspection at the cost of the research cases shall be final.

(b) No photographic reproduction or tracing of records shall be made by any research student without the written permission of the Keeper.

13 Any research student who uses the documents released by the Imperial Record Department for purposes of historical research and publishes works based on those records shall deposit in the Imperial Record Department one copy of each work free of charge immediately after publication.

14 The concession of personal inspection of records in the Research Room may at the discretion of the Keeper be withheld for any sufficient reason such as—

Wilful breach of any of the foregoing rules, persistent disregard of Officer's authority, damage of any sort to any record or article belonging to the Imperial Record Department, conduct, language, habits, unseemly dress or any other matter offensive or likely to be offensive to the members of the staff or to others using the Research Room.

APPENDIX I

(Form of application for admission to the Research Room in the Imperial Record Department)

To
 THE KEEPER OF THE RECORDS* OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
 New Delhi

SIR

I beg to apply for a ticket of admission to the Research Room of the Imperial Record Department for inspection of records. I promise to comply with the rules and conditions in force there

- 1 Name
- 2 Title
- 3 Designation
- 4 Profession
- 5 Domicile
- 6 Subject of search
- 7 Period for which admission is sought for
- 8 Recommended by†
- 9 Signature and Date
- 10 Address

Particulars of records to be consulted

	Department	Period	Remarks
1			
2			
3			
4			

* All applications from representatives or subjects of Indian States shall be submitted through the local Political Officer concerned and the Political Department

† Not necessary in case of members of the Indian Historical Records Commission and Professors or Readers of recognised Universities

APPENDIX II

TABLE OF FEES

(The charges detailed below are cumulative and not alternative.)

1 Search fee—

- (a) Index for a year @ As 8
- (b) Specified document @ As 8 each

2 Transcription fee—

- (a) Transcription covering a foolscap sheet in double spacing @ As 4 each sheet
- (b) Comparison of typescripts with originals @ As 2 each foolscap sheet.
- (c) Duplicate and triplicate copies @ As 3 each sheet

3 Examination fee—

- Scrutiny of each batch of 10 pages of foolscap typescript Rs 2

APPENDIX F.

List showing the names of the ordinary and the corresponding members of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

(Corrected up to the 31st December 1960)

ORDINARY MEMBERS

No	Name
1	The Honourable Minister in charge of the Department of Education, Health and Lands.
2	Sir Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., C.I.E., Honorary D.Litt., M.R.A.S. (London), 1255 Lansdowne Road, Extension, Calcutta
3	Dr. Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, M.A., D.Litt., Head of the Department of History, University of Allahabad, 31, Stanley Road, Allahabad
4	Rev. Father H. Heras, S.J., M.A., Director of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay
5	Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Honorary Ph.D., M.R.A.S., 143, Brodie's Road, Madras
6	Dr. Gulshan Lal Chopra, M.A., Ph.D., Bar at Law, Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab
7	Lt. Col. H. Bullock, Deputy Judge Advocate General, North Western Circuit, Head quarters Northern Command, Murree/Rawalpindi
8	Khan Bahadur A.F.M. Abdul Ali, M.A., F.R.S.L., 3 Nawab Abdur Rahman Street, Calcutta
9	Keeper of the Records of the Government of Bengal
10	Curator, Madras Record Office, Egmore, Madras
11	Keeper of the Records of the Government of India, New Delhi

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS

No	Name	Centre
(i) Outside India		
1	Sir William Foster, C.I.E., formerly Superintendent of Records, India Office, Mountfield Court, 179, West Heath Road, London, N.W. 3	London
2	Mr. W. T. Ottewill, O.B.E., Superintendent of Records, India Office, Whitehall, London S.W. 1	
3	Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., C.I.F., C/o Messrs. Thomas Cook and Son, Ltd., Berkeley Street, Piccadilly, London W. 1	
4	Mr. R. E. Ramsbotham, M.B.E., M.A., B.Litt., F.R.Hist.S., Cromwell House, Woodstock, Oxford	
5	Mr. L. Ba Dun, Bar at Law, Secretary, Burma Legislative Council, Rangoon	Rangoon
6	Mr. G. H. Iuce, M.A. (Cantab.), I.F.S., Lecturer in Far Eastern History, University College Rangoon	

No	Name	Centre
(u) In India		
(a) Provinces		
Madras		
7	Dr K. R. Srinivasan M.A., Ph.D., Head of the Department of History and Economics, Maharaja's College, Vizianagaram	Vizianagaram
8	Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari M.A. Professor and Head of the Department of History and Politics Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar	Annamalainagar
9	Mr K. A. Nilskanta Sastri M.A., Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, Madras University, Madras	Madras.
10	Mr M. Venkatarangaiya M.A., Reader in History, Andhra University, Waltair	Waltair
Bombay		
11	Mr D. A. Potdar, B.A. Secretary Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala Poona	} Poona
12	Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, B.A. P.O. Kamshet, District Poona	
13	Dr B. A. Salatore M.A. Ph.D. (London) D.Phil. (Giessen) Prof of History, S. C. D. Arts College Ahmedabad	Ahmedabad
Bengal		
14	Dr D. P. Bhattacharya M.A., Ph.D. 2/1 Lovelock Street, Calcutta	Calcutta
15	Dr J. C. Sinha M.A. Ph.D. Head of the Department of Economics, Presidency College, Calcutta	Calcutta
16	Hakim Habibur Rahman, Hakim Habibur Rahman Road, Dacca	Dacca
17	Dr R. C. Majumdar, M.A. Ph.D. P.R.S. Vice Chancellor, Dacca University Dacca	Dacca
18	Mr K. Zachariah M.A. (Oxon) I.I.S. Principal Islamia College, Wellesley Street Calcutta	Calcutta
19	Mr D. N. Banerjee M.A., Head of the Department of Political Science, Dacca University Dacca	Dacca
20	Mr Lalita Prasad Dutta M.B.A.S., F.R.S.A. (Lond), P.O. Birnagar, Distt Nadia Bengal	Nadia
21	Dr N. K. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D. Lecturer in History, Calcutta University, 47A Ickla Poad Calcutta	Calcutta
United Provinces		
22	Khan Bahadur Wulvi Zafar Hassan B.A. Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India Northern Circle Agra	Agra
23	Dr Radhakumud Mookerji M.A. Ph.D., P.R.S., Professor and Head of the Department of Indian History, Lucknow University, Lucknow	Lucknow.

No	Name	Centre
24	Mr J C Talpalar M A Teacher of History St. John's College Agra	Agra
25	Dr Nihal Chatterji M A Ph D D Litt Lecturer Department of Indian History Lucknow University Lucknow	Lucknow
26	Dr Bhol Chandra M A Ph D Prof of Political Science Banars Hindu University Banaras	Banaras
<i>Lahore</i>		
27	Lala Sita Ram Kohli M A F I Hist S Principal Government Intermediate College Hoshiarpur	Hoshiarpur
28	Lala Rai Chaml Manchanda B A LL B Advocate High Court Lahore	Lahore
29	Sardar Ganda Singh M A Lecturer in Sikh History Khalsa College Amritsar	Amritsar
30	Mr J T Bruce M A Professor of History, Punjab University Lahore	Lahore
<i>Patna</i>		
31	Dr Sulimal Chandra Sarkar M A Ph D, MRAS Principal Patna College Patna	Patna
32	Mr K P Mitra M A B I Principal D J College Monghyr	Monghyr
33	Dr Mohammad Nazim M A, LL D Superintendent Archaeological Survey of India Central Circle Patna	Patna
34	Dr K K Basu M A, Ph D Professor of History T N T College Bhagalpur	Bhagalpur
35	Dr Kalkinkar Datta M A, PRS Ph D Lecturer Patna College Patna	Patna
36	Mr S A Shero M A Curator Patna Museum Patna	Patna
<i>Assam</i>		
37	Raj Bahadur Dr S K Bhuyan M A, Ph D (Lond) B L Special University Officer to the Govt of Assam Shillong	Shillong
38	Mr S C. Goswami I SO Inspector of Schools Assam	Assam
<i>North West Frontier Province</i>		
39	Mr S M Jaffer B A, MRAS (Lond) Khudadad Road Peshawar	Peshawar
<i>Delhi</i>		
40	Dr T G P Spear, M A Ph D (Cantab) Information Officer Defence Department New Delhi	Delhi

No	Name	Centre
(b) <i>Indian States</i>		
41	Mr R. M. Crofton, I.C.S., Director General Revenue Department, H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad (Deccan)	Hyderabad
42	Syed Khurshed Ali, Director, Daftar e Diwani, Mal and Mulki H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad (Deccan)	Hyderabad
43	Rao Sahib C. Havayadana Rao, B.A., B.L. Editor, the Mysore Economic Journal Siddicuttu Bangalore	Bangalore
44	Mr R. K. Ranadive M.A., Manager, Huzur Political Office, Baroda	Baroda
45	Rani Lakshmbai Rajwade, Gwalior	Gwalior
46	Dr. Prakash Chandra, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. (Lond.), Professor of Civics and Political Science Victoria College Gwalior	Gwalior
47	Mr C. V. Chandrasekharan, M.A. (Oxon), F.R.Hist.S., Pro Vice Chancellor, University of Travancore, Trivandrum, and Director of Public Instruction Travancore	Travancore and Cochin
48	Mr R. V. Poduval B.A. Director of Archaeology, Travancore State, Trivandrum	Trivandrum
49	Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe, M.A., Sarvagati Niketan Indore State Indore	Indore
50	Srimati Kamalibai Kibe, Indore	Indore
51	Pandit Bisheshwarnath Reu, Sahityacharya Superintendent Archaeological Department, Jodhpur	Jodhpur
52	Mr Paramananda Acharya B.Sc., State Archaeologist Mayurbhanj State, Baripada, Orissa	Mayurbhanj
(c) <i>Foreign Possessions in India</i>		
53	Mons. Alfred Lehureau Rue Desbassays de Richmont Chandernagore, French India	Chandernagore.
54	Cavahero Panduranga Passurlencar, Member, Lisbon Academy of Sciences and Curator, Historical Records of Portuguese India, Nova Goa	Nova Goa

APPENDIX G.

A list of Commemorative tablets on notable buildings in the Baroda State

1 *British Residency*—This building was the dwelling place of General Sir J Outram Baronet, G C B, and General Sir R Meade K C S I C I E whose careers were distinguished in other parts of India and who left enduring marks on the history of Baroda.

2 *Songadh*—This fort was built by Shrimant Pilyajiro Gakwad in 1728-29 A D and formed the headquarters of the Gakwad House from 1729 to about 1766 A D.

3 *Baba Pipara Ghat*—This ford was used in ancient times for crossing the river Narmada for entering Central Gujarat from the South through the Ruyyipi State.

4 *Baroda Fort*—This fort was originally built by Bahadur Shah Sultan of Gujarat (1526-1536 A D). It was finally captured by Shrimant Damajiro Gakwad in 1734 A D. It had been the capital of the Gakwads in about 1766 A D.

5 *Thurani*—On this battle field on the 1st April 1731 A D Senapati Trimbakrao Dabhade and Shrimant Pilyi Gakwad's son named Sayajiro were killed in action between the Peshwa Bajiro I and the Senapati. The battle is known as the battle of Dabhoi.

6 *Dabhoi (Ancient Darbhakati)*—This fort was originally built by Sidharaj Jaisinha (1093-1142 A D) and restored by the Vagheli King Visaldev (1243-1261 A D).

7 *Sati*—Tomb of Mir Kamaluddin Hussainkhan Nawab Sardar of Baroda who died at Ruthum during the Malwa campaign in 1819 A D.

8 *Patan*—Here Shrimant Damajiro Gakwad II, Ruler of Baroda breathed his last on 18th August 1768 A D.

9 *Patan*—The remains of Damajiro II Gakwad were cremated here on the 18th August 1868.

10 *Patan (Ranivat)*—This celebrated step well was built by Udhamati mother of Karni Deo and Queen of Solanki Bhim Deo I (1022 to 1026 A D).

11 *Patan (Khanarocar)*—This magnificent tank originally a work of a Solanki King was restored by Khwaja Mirza Aziz Kokth (1589-94 A D) foster brother of Emperor Akbar and Governor of Gujarat. It measures 1228 x 1273 feet.

12 *Modera (Surga Mandir)*—This temple dedicated to the Sun God was originally built by the Solanki King, Bhimdeo I (1022-1063 A D).

13 *Sidhpur (Rudramal)*—This temple named Rudra Mahadevi dedicated to Shiva was commenced by the Solanki King Mulraj (942-97 A D) and completed by Sidharaj Jaisinha (1094-1113 A D). It covers an oblong 23 x 300 feet. The greater portion of this temple was ruthlessly demolished by Uthakhan in 1297 and by Ahmadashah in 1415 A D.

APPENDIX H

Reprinted from Notes and Queries, November 18th, 1939

A LETTER FROM CALCUTTA 1770

The following is a copy of a letter from Calcutta dated December 17 1770 It was given to me many years ago by a friend in Calcutta who's name I unfortunately am unable to recollect I omit some lines toward the close of the letter they cannot have been intended for Mr Cockburn to read to his wife'

DEAR COCKBURN

I wrote you from the Cape and Madras both which I hope you will have received I could not then give you any information about yr affairs and even now can give you very little I waited on Dr Binks with the letters of attorney and yours He then told me that he was to remit money to you by way of Madrass which I hope he has done He told me likewise that all his money was at Madrass and he had not one farthing here He has got a good deal of money to receive on Mr Cooper's acct Money is extremely scarce here so much that you would hardly believe it possible that a man worth 2 00 000£ can not pay a bill of 12£ within a fortnight The scarcity of money has almost entirely ruined the trade here I am much afraid that I shall make but a very bad voyage of it However I hope times will mend by and by I have got a pech of Chintz for Mrs Cockburn a cane for you so you see I dont forget you Pray give my best respects to Mrs Cockburn and hope that she has got the better of her complaints and is a mother of a Tom Cock or Polly or any name Banks never invited me to dine with him and behaved very dryly He sent a copy of the power of attorney to Madrass Mr Boswell gave our affidavits that we saw it signed etc lawfully He has no answer yet I waited on him yesterday morning and told I should write you by this ship He said he had nothing particular to say to you only his Coms I shall write you again as soon as I have an answer from him about Mrs Macdonald I believe if he wanted to give me money on yr account

How
he Com
They

not go nyh him for he might have behaved a little more civilly but enough of him

There has been a great mortality amongst the black inhabitants here They compute about twelve hundred thousand have died in this kingdom In the streets of Calcutta you might have seen 20 or 30 in a day lying dead for meer want of rice and there they lie till night when they are devoured by Jackalls and dogs I myself have seen half a black man lying in the streets that the dogs etc, had not time to destroy, and there has been instances of the black people eating the dead ones

They have got here a very neat play house and scenes and generally act 6 plays in the year I have seen two They are performed by Gentlemen in the settlement There is one in particular who acts the part of a woman amazingly well I have seen Fleetwood act He was once an actor at Covent Garden but got out as Factor to India He was offered one thousand pounds a year to stay in England

but would not. He acts extremely well. There is one tomorrow night viz, Hamlet to which I am to squire a lady. There is a great number of Indies here, but both here and at Madras they put on such affected airs that there is hardly any bearing of them. Suppose most of them were only chamber maids and mopsqueezers in England. There is a lady here whom you might have known in Edin viz Miss Fallener. She is there I believe a lady of easy virtue nay am pretty certain of it. However she is as bad as any of them and I am sure that a man who knew them in England and saw them here wd say with an ancient philosopher O tempora O Mores. I have been at two or three balls (for there is one every week) but did not dance any. I have been once since I came to India but have got the better of it. There are some very good pieces here (black and yellow) and I am sure there is a good one a week. Pray

don't forget to remember me to Mrs. Cockburn Mr. and Mrs. Cooper and excuse so much nonsense.

From your very sincere friend

JOHN BROWN

Calcutta

December 17th 1770

P.S.—I wish you all a merry Christmas and happy new year and many returns. J. B. We expect to sail in March next.

WALTER R. IRMINGLIP

APPENDIX I

Note on the Manuscript Library of the Nakshabandi family at Balapur in Berar

(By Mr. V. K. DESHPANDE B. A. LL. B. BERAR)

Balapur is at present the head quarter of the Tahsil of that name in Akola District of Berar. It is twenty miles to the South of Akola and is connected with it by a metalled road. Motor lorries run at any time of the day to and fro between the two towns.

Balapur has not historical importance in as much as it was head quarter of the Subahdar of the Deccan for some time during the Moghal period. Murad Laksha son of Akbar the great was Subahdar of the Deccan. He had founded Shahpur and built a palace there for his residence. He died at Shahpur which is only 12 miles from Balapur. It is ruined now. Few tombs and the traces of the foundations of the palace and other buildings mark the place which was once a Capital of the Deccan during the Moghal period. In the India Museum at London there is a map of the East Indies comprehending the estate or kingdom of the great Moghal. It was printed in 1690 A.D. during the reign of Aurangzeb. It records only Shahpur as the place of importance in Berar. In Bilqur there is a fort built in stone and bricks on the delta formed by two rivers. The surrounding walls and gates are in tact. It appears to have been constructed under the Mohomedan rule. Near the fort a battle was fought between the Nizam and the Moghal general Alam ali Khan who died on the field in 1720 A.D. The two sections of the Marathas had fought in the battle on both the sides.

Since long I entertained a desire to visit the town of Balapur for historical research. A friend of mine recently informed me about the collection of the Persian and Arabic manuscripts in possession of the old mohomedan family at Balapur. On my request K. N. Narikatti Esq. ICS Deputy Commissioner of Akola very kindly introduced me to Moulavi Syed Inamul Islam Nakshabandi Jagirdar of Wagrool who possesses this collection at his residence at Balapur. The D. C. had directed Mr. Wankhede Tahsildar of Balapur to help me in the matter and also permitted Mr. D. B. Mahajan Supdt. of J. and Records to accompany me at the place. I may note here that Mr. Mahajan is a co worker with me in the research in the field of history and archaeology. On appointment we had visited Balapur on the 22nd and 23rd of September 1910.

Moulavi Syed Inamul Islam Nakshabandi was very kind to receive us and he took us round to the Masjid the Khankah of his own family and showed us several relics of the past. He also took us to the library of the manuscripts and valuable and rare printed books.

It would not be out of place to record in brief the history of the Nakshabandi family before I give my brief note on Khankah and the library. The history of the family is based on Tarikh e Aaliya Deccan and Berar printed in 1332 H. in Hyderabad. It was Moulana Syed Inayatulla who first left his native place Khujand in Bukhara with his son Syed Mumbulla and other family and made his residence in India at Amnabad near Lohore. From Amnabad the family shifted to Burhanpur where Syed Inayatulla met Sh. Mujafer Sufi Nakshabandi. Nakshabandi Kadri, Chishti and Suhrawardi are the principal four sects in Mohomedanism. Syed Inayatulla died in 1177 H. and Syed Mumbulla in 1119 at Burhanpur. It was

Syed Zahiruddin Nakshabandi the eldest son of Syed Mambulla to leave Burhanpur and make Balapur his permanent place of residence. Burhanpur has not been finally left by the family and it had connection with it for many generations. Moulana Syed Zahiruddin came to Balapur in the last day of the reign of Aurangzeb. He made it a centre of his religious authorities and died there in 1111 H. He was buried at Balapur to the South of his residence in the village of Kasarkhed on the river to the other side of the fort. Syed Zahiruddin was succeeded by Syed Mappuddin Masum his brother as religious head. During his regime the Masjid and the Khankah were built in 1150 H as the inscription there records. It was in 1166 H and 1167 H that the villages Rasulpur and Palsi were granted to him as Jagir by Nizamuddin Asafjah for the up keep of the Khankah and feeding of the Fakirs. Moulana Syed Shah Md Masum died in 1199 H, and was buried in the Khankah by the side of Syed Zahiruddin. Moulana Syed Kamaruddin second son of Mambulla died in 1193. It was probably he who made the beginning of the collection of the manuscript. His son Syed Nurul Ilahi who was born in 1153 H, had initiated Syed Khalidulla, son of Syed Kalimulla and grand son of Syed Shah Md Masum in these books, then the collection was at Balapur. Syed Khalidulla died in 1222 H. Syed Narul Mustafi succeeded his brother Narul Ali in 1203 H. He had visited Poona to meet the wife of Ali Bahadar son of the Peshwa Bajirao his Mastani. Syed Nurul Mustafi died in 1230 H. Syed Md Masum Masnai son of Syed Khalidulla had taken part in the Hindu Muslim riot at Akola in 1260 H. It was a regular battle when nearly 10 000 mohomedans from the province had gathered. It was he who got in exchange, the present Jagir villages in the Aurangabad Subah in 1283 H. He died in 1297 and was buried in the Khankah. His son was Moulavi Syed Mumtajabuddin the grand father of Moulavi Syed Imamul Islam the present Nakshabandi Jagirdar.

The credit is due to Moulana Syed Mohomad father of the present Moulavi to bring the library to the present condition. In fact all the representatives of the family at different period were erudite and known for their learning and the present importance is due to their co operation. Moulavi Syed Imamul Islam Nakshabandi the present learned Sajjada nashim of the Khankah and Jagirdar is also able representative of the family and knows the value of the library and spares no pains in preserving it in order.

As for the Masjid and Khankah for which the Jagirs six or seven villages are granted I have practically nothing to add except that the buildings are kept clean and in perfect repairs. My attention was drawn to Naksha Kuran which is constructed in lime and mortar in the yard of the Masjid. It is told that water made to run through this geometrical diagram is given to a woman in puns for easy delivery. The Khankah contains the tombs of all the past members of the Nakshabandi the principal tomb being that of Moulana Syed Zahiruddin.

Besides the Nakshabandi family there is another family of a Kadri which also enjoys a Jagir for the up keep of the tombs and Urs of a pir. The Deshmukh and Deshpandia families of the place receive largest amount of Rusum as political pension for the past services as pergana officers. They trace their family at Balapur even before the Moghal period. I expected to find at Balapur record of the various period but could not as yet trace it. I had however to satisfy myself with the inspection of the manuscript records which I could do during my short stay at the place.

The library was kept in good order. I could not get a list of the manuscripts and printed books in fact no such list or a catalogue appears to have been prepared.

It was not therefore possible for me, during my short stay there, to form the correct idea of the nature and value of the manuscripts deposited there. I had to depend upon whatever manuscripts and printed books were brought to my notice by the Maulavi Sahib while I was there. From what I inspected, I can confidently state that it would be worth the trouble to prepare a detailed catalogue of the manuscripts and the rare printed books by an experienced scholar of Persian and Arabic. Such catalogue will help the scholars to make use of the library.

I now note the works which were brought to my notice, just to give an idea of the collection.

There were nearly 1 000 or 1,200 manuscripts in addition to the printed books, some of which are valuable, out of print and hence rare.

A copy of Shah nama with the best calligraphy illustrated with water colour pictures noted to have been scribed in 907 H.

One copy
Another
the middle

and four comentaries round it, three in Arabic and the one in Persian. One copy of the Kuran Sharif is alleged to be scribed in 479 H.

As the Moulavi Sahib stated, these are among others works on ilme Fika, ilme Kadi, ilme Tiba and ilme Tafasil. There are, as he stated, works on grammar, dictionary and even on history.

A copy of Divana Hafiz is noted to have been scribed in 1001 H.

Out of the printed books, I found (1) Ahad Namjat and Akrar Namjat and Sanads Sarkar Company Angriz Bahadur Malika majama Shahen Shah Inghistan and Hindustan in seven volumes printed in 1866 A D in Naval Kishore Press, Lucknow (2) Malcom's History of India in Persian printed in 1872 A D in the Govt of India press, Taskare Avaliya e Deccan and Berar printed in Hyderabad in 1332 H.

There is a large collection of hand sketches and pictures of renowned religionists,
uraz, Shah
hti (Ajmer
n) Bahlol
(Cherage

Delhi) Mulla Nizam Ganjavani and several others.

To my notice were brought two objects of antiquity which were held sacred and venerated. They are the Moi Mubarak (sacred hair) of the Hazrat Mohamed Sahib and Moi Mubarak of Hazrat Mohe buba Subhani (Sk Abdul Kadar Zilani). These objects were locked in two separate wooden cabinets specially prepared for the purpose. The objects were exposed for reverence only once a year, the first on the 11th day of Rubulaval and the 2nd on the 10th day of Ramussani.

I must thank the Moulavi Sahib for the pains he took during my stay there, he had to postpone his tour to his Jagir villages in the Nizam's state to keep the engagement with me. I am much indebted to him for the introduction from Mr Nagar. My thanks are due to Mr Wankhe- B Mahajan S L R of Akola for

accompanying and helping me in this visit.

In conclusion, I note that it is in the interest of literature and history to preserve the valuable collection of the Persian and Arabic manuscripts. Some of the volumes urgently require strong rebinding. In order to make the manuscripts and the printed books available for scholars, a detailed catalogue of the works in the library should be prepared at an early date. This is possible only if the Local Government select the most valuable books for purchase.

may be entrusted to any institute which can complete it with the co-operation of the Moulavi Sahib. I would draw the attention of the Nagpur University to this matter. The question of opening a branch of manuscripts in the University library is under consideration. It is in the interest of the University also to give facilities to its

undertake the work in hand

Y. K. DESHPANDE

YEOTMAL;

The 3rd November 1940.

APPENDIX J.

A note on the Athalye collection at Shiposhi, District Ratnagiri, Bombay Province

By RAO BAHADUR SARDAR M V KINE, MA MRAS, FRSA

The late Mr S V Athalye B A, was known to be a critical scholar of Maratha history even from his few and infrequent writings. It was also known that he had collected, copied and kept ready for the press a large number of original documents bearing on the Maratha history. It was the sole ambition of his life to bring out this collection with his explanatory notes. Had it been fulfilled many obscure or debatable points would have been cleared and set at rest—such was his close study and penetrating wisdom. Unfortunately that has been now relegated to the region of might have been. However the copies about the accuracy and authenticity of which there cannot be the least doubt remain intact and now can be made available to any scholar, a body of scholars or a government department.

The number of these papers is about 1,500. Out of these nearly 320 papers are from the family record of the descendants of Nandalal Mandoloi of Indore who introduced the Marathas in Malwa. It was due to the enterprise, perseverance and influence of the late Mr Athalye that these copies have been obtained. They range from 1693 to 1819 and are indispensable for any history of the country. Since then eminent scholars even like Sir Jadunath Sarkar have in vain tried to obtain a glimpse of these records, a few not entirely trustworthy papers from which have been published in histories.

Over and above this notable record there are a number of letters of Nana Farnavis, which have been in the safe keeping of the late Mr Athalye. The rest of the papers are from various well known persons in the history of the Marathas. As some of these might have been published already, and a few are translations or copies of published works some scholars or a body of them will have to critically examine the whole record, an authentic list of which is now available. The attention of this commission in the interests of history is invited to this valuable collection of records.

A list of the historical documents found in the collection of Late Sri Krishna Vithal or Bhayya Saheb Athalye, B A (Shiposhi, Ratnagiri)

- 1 History of Ibrahim Khan, 1757 to 1761 A D
- 2 The dates of the Holkars' death
- 3 Forefathers of Nandalal Mandoloi, 1736 A D
- 4 A letter about the murder of Bilaram Mandoloi, 1662 A D
- 5 Geneology of zamindars
- 6 A letter to Nanlalal, 1693 A D
- 7 A translation of Persian Sanads given to Mandoloi

- 8 A sinad to Chulaman Mandoloi from Aurangzeb, 1678 A D
 - 9 A letter to Chudaman, 1708 A D
 - 10 A letter to Kunwar Tej Karan, 1718 A D
 - 11 A letter to Kunwar Tej Karan from Rana of Badhwa, 1718 A D
 - 12 A letter to Kunwar Tej Karan from Rana of Badhwa, 1718 A D
 - 13 A letter to Nandalal from Malhar Rao Holkar, 1720 A D
 - 14 Horoscope of Malhar Rao Holkar
 - 15 A letter to Nandalal from Malhar Rao
 - 16 The description of different seals of Malhar Rao
 - 17 A letter to Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur, 1722 A D
 - 18 A letter to Nandalal from Malhar Rao, 1720 A D
 - 19 A letter to Nandalal from Ringanod, 1722 A D
 - 20 A letter to Nandalal from Rana of Badhwa, 1724 A D
 - *21 A letter to Nandalal from Arjunji Bhonsla, 1723 A D
 - 22 Tarikh-i-Manazilul Futuh (1760-61 A D)
 - 23 Unpublished Persian History of Panipat
 - 24 Campaign of Panipat (Translation of Mr Scott)
 - 25 Tarikh-i-Hind (History of India, 1711 to 42 A D)
 - 26 A letter to Dhondoba from Sadashiv Chimmaji, 1744 A D
 - 27 A letter to Dhondoba from Sadashiv Chimmaji, 1745 A D
 - 28 A letter to Dada Saheb from Govinda Ballal, 1755 A D
 - 29 A letter to Bhau Saheb from Antaji Mankeshwar, 1757 A D
 - 30 A letter to the Peshwa from Antaji Mankeshwar, 1757 A D
 - 31 A letter to Nana Saheb from Ragunath Rao, 1758 A D
 - 32 A letter to Gopal Ganesh from Sadashiv Chimmaji, 1760 A D
 - 33 A letter to Dhondo Malhar from Sadashiv Chimmaji, 1760 A D
 - 34 A letter of Balawant Rao Mehendale, 1760 A D
 - 35 A letter to Morobadada from Janardan Balaji, 1760 A D
 - 36 Letters of Nana Farnavis about Panipat
 - 37 A letter of Nana Farnavis from Gwalior, 1761 A D
 - 38 A letter to Dada Saheb from Vitthal Shivadev, 1761 A D
 - 39 A letter to Kukaji Pant from Vinayak Bajirao and Krishnaji Gangadhar, 1761 A D
 - 40 A letter to Dada Saheb from Vinayak Bajirao and Krishnaji Gangadhar, 1761 A D
 - 41 A letter to Pant Pradhan from Balaji Govind, 1765 A D
 - 42 Bakhar of Bhau Gardi (History of a revolt in the Holkar State in 1833-34)
- No 1

* There are 300 copies of the original letters of the Mandoloi Daftar from 1693 to 1819 A D in the Athalye Collection

- 43 Bahhar of Bhau Gardi (History of a revolt in the Holkar State in 1833-34), No 2
- 44 A letter to Nana Saheb from Mirza Shafi Khan, 1784 A D
45. A letter to Govind Hari from Parshuram Bhau, 1761 A D
- 46 An account of King Zamorin, 1198 A D
- 47 A letter of Indore Durbar, Revenue Department, 1904 A D
- 48 Four letters about Maratha achievements in Bundelkhand
- 49 A letter to Morobadada from Balaji Janardana
- 50 War between the Marathas and the Portuguese (Teringee Portuguese)
- 51 A letter to Balaji and Gangadhar Govind 1780 A D
- 52 A letter to Nana from Purushottam Mahadev, 1780 A D
- 53 A letter to Nana, 1780 A D
- 54 A letter to Pant Pradhan, 1780 A D
- 55 A letter to Pant Pradhan (The Peshwa)
- 56 A letter to Pant Pradhan from Purushottam Mahadev, 1780 A D
- 57 A letter to Pant Pradhan from Purushottam Mahadev, 1780 A D
- 58 A letter to Nana from Dev Rao Mahadev, 1780 A D
- 59 Kaifiyat or History of the Holkars c/o S G Dravid
- 60 Seven pages of the later part of the above printed in Kayyathas Sangraha
61. A letter to Nana from Trimbak Rao Vishwanath, 1751 A D
- 62 A letter to Nana from Ramchandra Ganesh, 1761 A D
- 63 A letter to Nana 1762 A.D
- 64 A letter to Nana, 1762 A D
- 65 A letter to Nana, 1763 A D
- 66 A letter to Nana, 1763 A D
- 67 A letter to Nana, 1763 A D
- 68 A letter to Nana from Mahipat Rao Abaji 1763 A D
- 69 A letter to Pant Pradhan from Baji Narainb 1763 A D
- 70 A letter to Trimbak Pant Nana from Mahadaji Shinde, 1763 A D
- 71 A letter to Ramchandra Damodar from Madhav Rao Ballal, 1764 A D
- 72 A letter to Nana and Aba from Madhav Rao Ballal 1764 A D
- 73 A letter to Nana from Ragunath Rao 1764 A D
- 74 A letter to Nana from Madhav Rao Ballal, 1764 A D
- 75 A letter to Trimbak Rao Nana from Mahadaji Shinde 1765 A D
- 76 A letter to Baji Govind, 1770 A D
- 77 A letter to Pant Pradhan 1771 A D
- 78 A letter to Pant Pradhan 1772 A D
- 79 A letter to Pant Pradhan, 1772 A D
- 80 A letter to Pant Pradhan from Nagoji Shinde and Bapu Rao Krishna
- 81 A letter to Srimant Bapu, 1779 A D

- 82 A letter to Mahipat Krishna from Madhav Rao Ballal 1779 A D
- 83 A letter to Matushri Durgabai from Madhav Rao Ballal, 1779 A D
- 84 A letter to Chimraj Govind Athavale from Mahadaji Shinde, 1785 A D
- 85 A letter to Hari Pant Phadke (Phatake) 1791 A D
- 86 A letter to Dhondo Sakharam, 1791 A D
- 87 A letter to Dinkar Nilkantha 1799 A D
- 88 A letter to Naro Pant Nana from Ramchandra Shridhar Kale, 1799 A D
- 89 A letter to Baba Saheb from Ramchandra Shridhar Kale 1799 A D
- 90 A letter to Naro Pant Nana from Bapuji Shinde 1799 A D
- 91 A letter to Dhondo Ballal 1799 A D
- 92 A letter to Rao Saheb Govari from Khando Rao Ghorpade, 1799 A D
- 93 A detailed account of Satara 1799 A D
- 94 A letter to Pant Pradhan 1799 A D
- 95 A letter to Trimbak Rao Mahipat Purandhare from Baij Rao Raghunath 1801 A D
- 96 A letter to Nana 1802 A D
- 97 A letter to Nana from Balwant Rao Appaji, 1802 A D
- 98 A letter to Baij Rao Pandit Pradhan 1802 A D
- 99 A letter to Balaji Manekshwar 1802 A D
- 100 A letter to Rao Saheb from Trimbak Sadashiv, 1802 A D
- 101 A sanad for Pargana Karila from Baij Rao Ballal
- 102 A letter to Udaji Pawar from Baij Rao Ballal 1722 A D
- 103 Persian Sanads from Baij Rao Ballal 1722 A D
- 104 A letter to Baij Rao from Anand Rao Pawar 1724 A D
- 105 A supplement to Anand Rao Pawar from Visaji Ganesh
- 106 Treaty Udaji Pawar Gujrath—Malwa 1726-27 A D
- 107 A letter to Anand Rao Pawar from Baij Rao Ballal 1728 A D
- 108 Sanad for Pargana Sitamahu from Baij Rao Ballal 1728 A D
- 109 Sanad for Pargana Durab from Baij Rao Ballal, 1728 A D
- 110 Sanad for Pargana Kachli from Baij Rao Ballal 1728 A D
- 111 A letter to Subha Gujrath from Baij Rao Ballal 1728 A D
- 112 A letter to Subha Rathum from Baij Rao Ballal 1728 A D
- 113 A letter to Malwa from Baij Rao Ballal 1728 A D
- 114 A letter to Sihor from Baij Rao Ballal 1728 A D
- 115 A letter to Chhatra Amod from Baij Rao Ballal 1728 A D
- 116 A letter to Saser Subha Gujrath from Baij Rao Ballal 1728 A D
- 117 A letter to Rama Singh Rana of Dongarapur from Baij Rao Ballal
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- 887 A letter to Govind Kasi Hawalkar 1678—79 A D
- 888 A chronicle of genealogy
- 889 A letter to Chhatra Rajaram from Shankaraji Narayan, 1699 A.D
- 890 A letter to Santaji Ghorpade from Ramchandra Nilkantha 1692 A.D
- 891 A letter to Chhatrapati Shiv Raja from Shankaraji Narayan 1700 A D
- 892 A letter to Vitthal Gopal from Raja Shahu, 1709 A D
- 893 A letter to Chhatrapati from Raghaji Bhonsla, 1705 A D
- 894 A letter to Apaji Kano from Parsharam Trimbak 1705 A.D
- 895 A letter to Chhatrapati from Raghaji Bhonsla 1705 A D
- 896 A letter to Baba Dikshit from Khandoji Argade 1769 A D
- 897 A letter to Baba Dikshit from Khandoji Argade, 1769 A D
- 898 A Supplement 1769 A D
- 899 A letter to Baba Dikshit from Khandoji Argade 1769 A D
- 900 A letter to Baba Dikshit from Khandoji Argade 1769 A D

There are still 200/250 letters or copies which are not included in the list as their writers are not known

APPENDIX K.

The Historical Exhibition, 1940.

The Historical Exhibition organised by the Government of Baroda in connexion with the seventeenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held at the Baroda State Museum. In his inaugural speech H. H. the Maharaja Pratapsingh Gaekwar (para 9) invited the members of the Commission and the public to pay a visit to the Exhibition. The Exhibits, which came from Government archives, Indian States, public institutions and private persons belonging to various parts of India, were remarkable both as regards variety and antiquity. These comprised modern state papers of first rate importance, documents of Maratha, Moghal and early British periods, old inscriptions, coins, grants, historical paintings, rare books, manuscript works, fine specimens of calligraphy and many other articles of antiquarian interest.

The Exhibition was open to the public from the 22nd to the 25th December and proved a great success. 400 copies of the lists were very kindly supplied by the Government of Baroda for incorporation in the Proceedings Volumes for this session.

S. N. SEN,

Secretary,

Indian Historical Records Commission.

List of Exhibits in the Exhibition held in connection with
the Seventeenth Session of the Indian Historical
Records Commission at Baroda in 1940



Compiled by

Dr. HIRANANDA ŚASTRI,

M. A., M. O. L., D. Litt.,

Director of Archæology,

Ag. Curator, Baroda State Museum & Picture
Gallery and Chairman, Exhibition Committee.

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DARBAR OF BABUR

LIST OF THE EXHIBITS

I. Baroda State

A. THE STATE RECORDS OFFICE, BARODA

- (1) Farman of Emperor Jahangir issued in 1618-19 A. D. bestowing on a lady named Kulsum 510 bighas of the land of Savad in Baroda taluka. It bears Emperor's seal and a tugra.
- (2) Letter of late Damajirao to Sayajirao regarding the income of Manji Rund to be returned back.
- (3) Letter from Damaji II Gaekwad to his son Govindrao about some accounts dated 21st May 1762 and bearing his seal.
- (4) Letter from Damaji II Gaekwad to his son Govindrao regarding the income of Manje Rana taluka Savli to be taken from Bhadarwekar Rana dated 20th January 1766.
- (5) Order of Govindrao Gaekwad to Bhukhan Bhaidas Mujumdar of Broach bearing the seal of his father Damajirao dated 14th June 1766.
- (6) An abstract of revenue account of the Choras Pargana, District Surat, bearing the seal of Sayajirao I Gaekwad and dated 20th January 1772.
- (7) Letter 7th June 1778 from Peshwa Madhaorao II to Fattesingrao who while crossing Narbuda treacherously assaulted Hari Babaji under whose guard he was being taken to Jhansi. It ends with an exhortation that the Gaekwad should not allow Raghoba to join the English. The last 5 lines are in the handwriting of Nana Fadanvis.
- (8) Budget of revenue, income and expenditure passed against Laxman Shamraj, the farmer bearing the seal of Fattesingh I Gaekwad dated 6th April 1781.
- (9) Letter from Mahadji Shinde to Manajirao Gaekwad requesting the latter to give all the travelling facilities to Mehta Sada Shankar

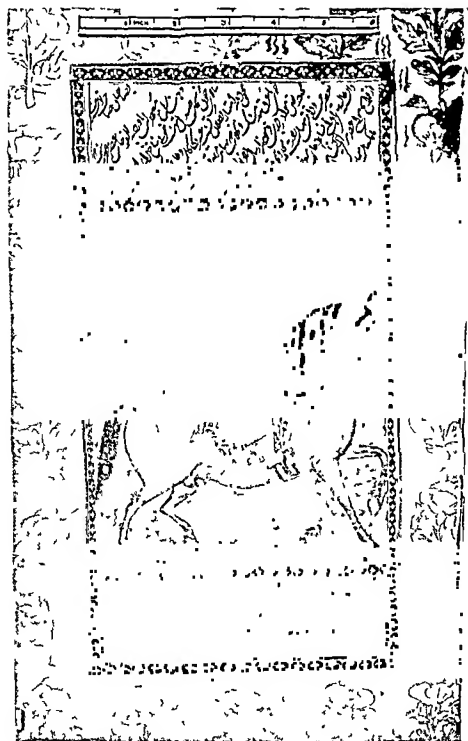
Munshi going from Ujjain to Ahmedabad for the marriage of Mehta Rajeshwar Shankar Munshi (Seal of Mahadji dated 13-6-91).

- (10) Letter dated 16-7-1791 bearing the seal of Tukoji Holkar to Manajirao Gaekwad requesting him to return the land for Rs. 40,000 alleged to be forcibly taken from the ruler of Dongarpur by Shivram Jagdish, a Baroda Captain.
- (11) Letter from Nilkantha Baburao Amatya to Govindrao Gaekwad dated 4-3-1795 A. D. acknowledging receipt of Makar Sankrant present. It bears the Amatya's seal.
- (12) Letter from Daulatrao Shinde to Govindrao Gaekwad of 17-4-1795 complaining that one Bhavanishankar of Broach looted a Patel with the help of Rajpipla State and asking the Gaekwad to arrest Bhavanishankar and to warn the Rajpipla Chief against his behaviour. Seal of Daulatrao Shinde.
- (13) Formal letter dated 7-3-1797 A. D. from Parashram Shrinivas Pratimdhī to Govindrao Gaekwad accompanying Makar Sankrant present. It bears the Pant Pratimdhī's seal.
- (14) Articles of convention signed at Cambay on 15th March 1802 A. D. between the Gaekwads and the East India Company. It bears the signatures of Jonathan Duman (Governor of Bombay), Raoji Apaji (Baroda Minister) etc.
- (15) Kharita dated 4-5-1802 from the Hon. East India Company to His Highness Maharaja Anandrao Gaekwad presenting him with a gold seal and a brace of pistols in appreciation of his friendship. The floral border is noteworthy.

B. EXHIBITS FROM THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT, BARODA

- (1) An inscribed potsherd from Beṭ. Cir. 2nd Cen. B. C.
- (2) Glazed and other potsherds from Beṭ.
- (3) Prehistoric and other finds from Kāmrej (Navsari Dist.).
- (4) Inscribed potsherds from Amreli Excavations 1939. Cir. 7th Cen. A. D.
- (5) A clay mould for repoussé work excavated at Amreli. Cir. 3rd Cen. A. D.
- (6) A clay die of Śīlāditya I of Valabhī excavated at Amreli. Cir. 7th Cen. A. D.





NAWAB SHAISTA KHAN

- (7) Terracotta figurines, torsos, busts, heads-human and divine — excavated at Amreli.
- (8) Miscellaneous objects excavated at Amreli—dice, lead stand or weight and a lead piece from which coins were struck.
- (9) A necklace made of earthen ornaments.
- (10) Two full conch-shell bangles, 3 earthen bangle fragments and fragments of carved conch-shell bangles excavated at Amreli with Kshatrapa coins.
- (11) Coins :—
 - (a) Punch-marked coins from Kāmrej.
 - (b) Other important coins from Kamrej (Kshatrapa, Avanti and Tribal).
 - (c) Kshatrapa (silver, lead and potin) coins from Amreli. The most important of these are the two dated potin coins of Viradaman.
- (12) Impressions of important inscriptions.
 - (a) A hero-stone from Mulvasara with inscription of the reign of Kshatrapa Rudrasena I dated Saka year 122 (=200 A. D.)
 - (b) Bijjalakuvān Mahādeva stone inscription recording that the famous king Siddharaja Jayasinha of Gujarat had a canal dug from the river Sarasvatī to fill up the Sahasralinga reservoir. (Cir. 12th Cen A D)
 - (c) The Mandvi (Baroda) stone inscription of the time of Dāmaji Rao Gaekwad dated V. S 1732 (i e 1736 A. D)
 - (d) Someśvara's *prasasti* at Dabhoi dated V. S 1311.
 - (e) Ganje-Shahīd stone inscription at Dabhoi dated V S 1701 or 1054 A. H. recording the remission of revenue by Qazzaq Khan the Mughal Governor of Dabhoi and other *tālūkās*
 - (f) Gaṇdevī stone inscription of the Kadamba ruler Shashtha II dated Śaka year 964 (=1042 A. D)
 - (g) Navlakhī-vav stone inscription recording the construction of the stepped-well in the reign of Zaffar Khan (=Muzaffar) in the Hījri year 807 (=1405 A D)
- (13) Select photographs of archæological finds and of monuments in the Baroda State.

- (14) A map of Gujarāt and Kāthiawād showing archaeological and historical sites.
- (15) A plan of excavations of the Sahasraliṅga reservoir site at Patan.
- (16) Copies of the frescoes in the Tumbakara-wāḍī, Bāroda.

BARODA STATE MUSEUM.

- (1) Śaṅkhaḍa grant of Śantalla, a general of Nabhallaka. (One plate) 6th Cen. A. D.
- (2) Anasū copperplate grant of Śilāditya III of Valabhi, dated Gupta year 357 (676-7 A. D.) (Two plates and one seal).
- (3) Murud-Jūjūrī copperplate grant of the Śilāhira king Aprajita-deva dated Śaka year 915 (993 A. D.) (Three plates and one seal).
- (4) Three Buddhist bronze images excavated from Mahudī, Vijapur lālukā Cir. 7th Cen. A. D.
- (5) Some illustrations from the *Mal īblārātā* (in Persian) Early Mughal school.
- (6) A plaster cast of the famous Mathurā Lion Capital with Khroshthī inscriptions.
- (7) Two folios from a palm-leaf Ms. of *Prayāḍārmata* from Nepal, with miniature printings. Cir. 10th Cen. A. D.
- (8) Door panel with pictures from the Tumbakara-wāḍī, Bāroda.
- (9) Nāḷandī clay seals and plaques Cir. 7th Cen. A. D.
- (10) Coins of the Gekwads (silver and copper)

THROUGH MUḌI PUNYAWANAN OR PATA.

- (1) A palm leaf Ms. of *Siddhahema-laghur nṭh* of the reign of Siddharāja (1094 to 1143 A. D.), the famous king of Gujarāt, containing his portrait.
- (2) Farman of Jehangir, the Mughal emperor with his portrait as well as that of Sulṭān Khurram and of some courtiers and monks dated in the Vikramā year 1667 (1610 A. D.), prohibiting slaughter of animals in Paryushan days.
- (3) Fragment of a *Vijñāpāṭṭā* from Jodhpur.





Mirabai in Trance.

E. Illustrated Ms on cloth of *Samgrahani-sūtra* dated V. S. 1453 (=1396 A.D.) the earliest known manuscript on cloth, from the collection of Muni Yaśovijayaṇi, Patan

F. GUJARAT VERNACULAR SOCIETY. AHMEDABAD (THROUGH DR. ŚĀSTRĪ, DIRECTOR OF ARCHÆOLOGY, BARODA).

(1) An old scroll giving the *Vaṃśāvalis* of several rulers including the Chāvaḍis and the Mughal Emperors of India.

(2) Illustrated Ms. of the *Durgā-saptasatī*.

(3) Illustrated Ms. of the *Kalpasūtra*

G. PORTRAITS AND WASLIS FROM THE COLLECTION OF SIR V. T. KRISHNAMA-CHARIAR.

(a) Durbīr of Bābur, Nawab Shasta Khan (See plates I and II).

(b) Specimens of Calligraphic writings.

H EXHIBITS FROM THE COLLECTION OF DR. HIRANANDA ŚĀSTRĪ.

(1) A dated manuscript of *Kamnavācchā* (Skt. Karmavachanī, i e. Ecclesiastical Resolutions) written in golden ink in old Burmese script with an inscribed string round it. 1268 Burmese common year.

(2) Illustrated folio from the *Cluttarasamanīyari* dated V. S. 1752 in the reign of Kṛpālapala of Basohli (Jammu)

(3) Illustrated palm-leaf Ms of the *Gita-govinda*.

(4) Old copy of a portrait of Mirābāi in Jaipur palace.

(5) Mirābāi in trance (Plate III)

(6) Elopement. (An old painting of early Rajput School probably connected with some historical events)



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(2) Illustrated folio from the *Cluttarasamañjarī* dated V. S. 1752 in the reign of Kṛipalapala of Basohli (Jammu).

(3) Illustrated palm-leaf Ms of the *Gīta-govinda*.

(4) Old copy of a portrait of Mīrābāī in Jaipur palace.

(5) Mīrabai in trance. (Plate III)

(6) Elopement. (An old painting of early Rajput School probably connected with some historical events).

II. Exhibits from the Imperial Record Department

1. Letter from Captain W. Richardson submitting a report of his voyage from London to purchase Slaves for Fort Marlbro'. (Pub. 22, Aug. 1765 No. 1.)
2. Copy of a Treaty with Nawab Shuja-ud-Dowlah of Oudh. [Pub. 9 Sep. 1765, No. 1 (b)].
- 3-7. Copies of *Farmans* from the Mug hal Emperor Shah Alam granting the *Diwan* of Bengal, Behar and Orissa to the East India Company and copy of an agreement between the Company and the Nawab of Murshidabad, in connection with the above grant. (Pub. 9 Sep. 1765, Nos. 2-6)
8. Proclamation of peace concluded between the East India Company and Nawab Shuja-o-Dowlah. (Pub. 9 Sep. 1765, No. 12).
9. Statement of the fifty Lakhs to be paid by Shuja-ud-Dowla. A statement of King's debt to the Company. (Perhaps it is written in the handwriting of Lord Clive) (Pub. 9 Sep. 1765, No. 13).
10. Lord Clive's proposal for the establishment of a fund with the Legacy of five lakhs of rupees bequeathed to him by Nawab Mir Jafar and of three lakhs by Nawab Nazam-ud-Dowlah for the benefit of the invalids and widows of the Company's soldiers. [Pub. 20 Jan. 1767, Nos. 6-6 (5)].
11. Letter from the Minister to the King of Rangam (Rangoon) intimating that the King has granted Lord Clive some ground in his city to make a Factory and Binkshall to repair and rebuild ships. (Pub. 1 Feb. 1768, Nos. 2 (a) 16).
12. Minute of the Board on *Dadney* purchases, establishing liberty of trade, and prohibiting any attempt to force advance upon weavers. (In Warren Hastings' handwriting.). (Pub. 12 Apr. 1773, Nos. 6-7).
- 13-15. List of presents made by the Peshwa and the Ministers at Poona to Lieut.-Genl. Sir John Clavering and Mr. Richard Barwell. (Pub. 11 Augt. 1777, Nos. 2-3 and A.)

16. Governor General's Minute regarding the introduction of a paper currency. (Pub. 1 May. 1780, No. 24).
17. Regulation of Treasury notes. (H. D. Pub. 8 May. 1780, No. 19).
18. Translation with original of an address, dated the 13th December 1788, from the principal members of the Greek Church in Bengal to the Court of Directors, testifying to the blessings and prosperity they enjoyed during the administration of Mr. Hastings, and expressing their gratitude for the same. (Pub. 9 Jan. 1789, No. 21 and K. W.)
19. Copy of a letter from Mr. C. W. Mallet, Resident at Poona, enclosing with his remarks copies of certain papers, giving a sketch of the foreign and internal commerce of the Mahrattas, and discussing at length the prospects of increasing the commercial intercourse between the Mahratta country and the Company's territories. (Pub. 22 Apr. 1789, No. 25).
20. Correspondence with Mr. C. W. Mallet, Resident at Poona on the subject of the establishment of a fixed and regular *dak* between Western India and Presidencies of Fort William and Fort St. George. (Pub. 22 Apr. 1789, No. A).
21. Minute of the Hon'ble T. B. Macaulay on native education. (Pub. 7 Mar. 1835, No. 15).
22. Original notes and Minutes on the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India by Lord William Bentinck, Governor General, the Hon'ble A. Ross and the Hon'ble Lt.-Col. W. Morrison, C. B., Members of the Supreme Council, and Mr. H. T. Prinsep, Secretary to the Government of India in the General Department, there are notes and remarks in pencil on Mr. Prinsep's Minute by the Hon'ble T. B. Macaulay (afterwards Lord), Member of the Supreme Council. (Pub. 7 Mar. 1835, No. 19 and K. W.)
23. Lord Auckland's Minute on the promotion of education among the Indians. (H. D. G. G's Pub. Cons. 24 Nov. 1839, No. 10).
- 24-27. Introduction of Postage Stamps in supercession of the system of money payments as postages. (Pub. 18 Mar. 1853, No. 1; 1 Jul. 1853 Nos. 1-3; 12 May 1854, Nos. 44-45, 19 May 1854, No. 64).
28. Public Despatch from the Court of Directors, No. 1 of 3 Jan. 1855, referring for the consideration of the Government of India a plan

by Mr. Julius Reuter for the establishment of a direct and uninterrupted communication between the electric telegraph in India and those in Europe. Pub. Genl. Letters from Court 1855, Vol. 1).

29. Bill for the incorporation of the University of Calcutta with adaptations for the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay (Pub 12 Dec. 1856, Nos. 54-55).
30. An Urdu Proclamation (with English Translation) issued by Nana Sahib to incite the Indian troops during the Mutiny, 1857. (Pub, 7 Aug. 1857, No. 137).
31. Infanticide and murder among the Brnjarahs (Pub. 11 Jan. and 28 Mar. 1868, Nos 28-29 and 116-118).
32. Supposed continuance of human sacrifices in certain districts of the Central provinces. (Pub 30 May 1868, No. 141).
33. Female infanticide in the eastern part of the Sehory Pergunnah in the Jubulpore district (Pub. 26 Sep 1868, No. 95).
34. Suppression of Female infanticide (Pub. 20 Aug. 1870, Nos. 96-98).
35. Minute of Brig. Genl. Sir Robert Barker on the reconstruction of the Sepoy Corps and a plan to establish a Militia for the internal protection of the country and the collection of revenues. (Sec. 28 Jan. 1773, No 2)
36. Origin, Progress and Present State of the Pindaries and the Mahrattas, 1801-21 (For. Misc Vol. No. 124).
37. Plan for establishing a route for mail from India to England via Red Sea. (Pol. 11 Sep. 1812 Nos. 7-9).
38. List of presents sent by the Governor General to Maharaja Pursoji Bhonsla on the death of his father Maharaja Raghoji Bhonsla and on his accession to the *masnad* and to Appa Sahib on his appointment to the Regency (P. C 25 May 1816, Nos. 49-52)
39. Restoration of the Danish Settlements on the Coromandal Coast. (P. C. 6 July 1816, Nos. 1-2).
40. Appa Sahib's proposal to raise a battalion of Sepoys after the European manner under British Officers approved by the Governor General (P. C. 9 Nov. 1816, Nos. 31-32)
41. Major General Sir John Malcom's minute on the Revenue and Judicial administration of the Southern Maratha country and the

genealogy of the Maratha chiefs, 1829. (For. Dept. Misc. Records, Serial No. 204).

- 42-43. Abolition of the *Suttee* rite in the dominion of the Raja of Nagpore. (P. C. 14 Jan. 1833 No. 45, 25 Sep. 1837, Nos. 104-106.)
44. Correspondence regarding the measures pursued for the suppression of Female Infanticide amongst the Jarejahs of Kathiawar (P. C. 22 Mar. 1835, Nos. 4-7).
45. Bombay Government instructed regarding deputation of a mission from Baroda to the Governor General. (contains a translation of a *Yad* from H. H. the Gaekwar.) (P. C. 4 Sep. 1837, Nos. 7-8).
46. Proclamation issued by the Raja of Satara abolishing the *Sati* rite and making the Company's rupees current within his territory. (P. C. 8 Jan. 1840, Nos. 18-19)
47. Mr. H. T. Prinsep's narrative of Alexandar's expedition to India, Circa 1842. (For. Misc. Records, No. 346).
- 48-49. Correspondence with H. H. the Gaikwar and others regarding the recovery of the Sandal Wood Gates of the Somnath Temple from the Tomb of Sultan Mahmud of Ghuznee and the restoration of the same to H. H. the Gaikwar and the measures taken for giving publicity to the Governor General's letter to the Hindu Chiefs and populations. (P. C. 4 Jan. 1843, Nos. 6-10 and 1 Mar. 1843, Nos. 10-12)
50. Marriage of H. H. the Gaekwar's daughter. Khurectas inviting the Governor General and the Governor of Bombay to Baroda. (P. C. 15 July 1843, Nos. 8-10).
51. H. H. the Gaekwar's son's wedding. Governor General invited to Baroda (P. C. 4 Apr. 1845, Nos. 4-5)
52. Khurecta from H. H. the Gaekwar inviting the Governor General to his brother's wedding at Baroda (P. C. 7 Apr. 1848, Nos. 9-10).
- 53-54. Suppression of human sacrifice in some hill tracts of Orissa namely Kalahandi, Bastar and their dependancies etc. (P. C. 3 Jan 1851 Nos 114-15, 23 Mar. 1855, Nos. 114-15).
55. Establishment of Courts of Criminal Justice at Baroda (P. C. 10 Sep. 1852, No. 11)
- 56-57. Occurrence of a case of *Sati* in the State of Baroda (P. C. 13 Jan. 1854 Nos. 10-13, 7 Jul. 1854 Nos. 28-32).

81. Lt-Genl Sir Alured Clark, K. C. B. (*pro-tem*). Minute proposing the appointment of the sanctioned number of cadets as Ensigns of Infantry Regts, which are deficient in officers, the Cavalry Regts. being already complete. (Mily. Cons. 27 Aug. 1799 No 1).
82. The Earl of Mornington (Marquess of Wellesley). Letter from the Governor-General in Council at Fort St. George stating that no further expense need be incurred in sending rice from Bengal, and recommending that as rice is wanted at the Cape of Good Hope it be sent there. (H. D. Pub. 31 May 1799 No. 2).
83. Minute of Lord Cornwallis acknowledging receipt of, and conforming to para 4 of Court of Directors Public General Letter dated 5 April 1793, regarding the terms of office and of payment of salary of Governor-General and Council of Bengal and Governor and Council of other Presidencies, when one goes out of India and westward of the Cape of Good Hope. (H. D. Pub. 30 July 1805, No. 6).
84. Letter of Lt.-Col. Sir George Barlow (*pro-tem*) enclosing his minute appointing the Hon. Mr. George Udny as Vice President and Deputy Governor of Fort William. (H. D. Pub. 14 Oct. 1805, No. 6).
85. Minute of Earl of Minto and Council appointing Mr. G. I. Siddons as an Asstt to the Resident at Fort Marlborough. (H. D. Pub. 1 Jan 1808 No. 1)
86. Earl of Moira's minute giving his reasons for the restoration of the salary of the Private Secretary from Rs. 36,000 per annum to its former standard of Rs. 50,000. (H. D. Pub. 7 January 1814 No. 1)
87. Marquis of Hastings' letter resigning the offices of the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief of all the King's and the Hon'ble Company's Forces in India. (Autograph). (H. D. Pub. 13 January 1823 No. 4).
88. Minute of Governor-General John Adam (*pro-tem*) appointing Charles Lushington as Private Secretary. (H. D. Pub. 13 January 1823 No. 8).
89. Lord Amherst's letter granting license to Mr. J. H. Alt. Prof. of Bishop's College to proceed to England. (H D. Pub. 7 August 1823 No 2)

- 90 Mr. W. B. Bayley acknowledges general letter from Court. (H. D. Gen. 13 March 1828 No. 4c).
91. Lord W. H. C. Bentinck acknowledges General Letter from Court (H. D. Gen. July 1828 No. 2).
92. Sir Charles Metcalf's minute nominating Mr. W. T. Princep as a member of the Council. (H. D. Gen. 20 March 1835 No. 5).
93. Lord Auckland's autograph letter regarding his sentiments upon the services rendered to the State by his private Secretary Mr. I. R. Colvil. (H. D. Gen. 2 March 1842 No. 1)
94. Earl of Ellenborough's communication to the Members of his Council advising them to notify his tour (Up-Country) in the official Gazette. A letter from Mr. W. W. Bird (*pro-tem*) (H. D. Pub 11 April 1842 No. 1).
95. Autograph letter of Sir Hardinge announcing his departure from Barracpore (H. D. Pub 22 September 1845 No. 1).
96. Lord Dalhousie's autograph expressing his Lordship's regret on taking leave and the high opinion he entertains of Mr. Secy. Bushby. (H. D. Pub. 10 October 1848, No. 5).
97. Hollograph of Lord Canning on the duties performed by the Home Secretary to a Junior Secretary with reduced pay, and of separating the Revenue and Judicial business from the Foreign Department. (H. D. Pub. 24 October 1856 No. 53)

Persian Documents

- 98 From Madhuji Bhonsla. In view of impending war with the French, the Governor-General sent under Colonel Leslie reinforcements to assist the Bombay Government and requested the Bhonsla to let them pass through his territories. The Bhonsla informs the Governor-General that he had taken necessary measures for the safe passage of the Army. (Pers. 10 May 1778, No. 32).
- 99 From Peshwa (Narayan Rao) Says that he will stick to the terms of the treaty and asks the Governor-General to do the same. (Pers 12 December 1778, No. 188)
100. From Raghunath Rao. Thanks the Governor General for his sending reinforcements to assist the Bombay Government in his behalf. Bears the writer's signature. (Pers. 16 Dec. 1778, No. 144).

101. From Chhittar Singh, Rana of Gohad-Informs the Governor General of the capture of the fortress of Gwalior by Captain Popham on 2 Sabhan (3 Aug. 1780). Bears the Rana's seal. (Pers. 5 Sept. 1780, No 33).
102. From Nana Farnavis, minister of the Peshwa. Asks the Governor General to send military assistance to the Peshwa and the Nizam against Tipu. Bears the seal of Nana Farnavis. (Pers. 14 Nov. 1785, No. 94).
103. From Madho Rao Sindhua. Has received the Governor General's letter saying that he has returned to Calcutta after making a tour of all the Company's possessions and reviewing the troops at the different stations and intimating that Major Palmer who has been appointed Resident at the Writers' Court will shortly proceed there. Bears the Writers' seal. (Pers. 8 Feb. 1788, No. 101).
104. From His Majesty Shah Alum. Has learnt from the Governor General's letter that he is leaving for Madras with a view to punishing Tipu for his having invaded Travancore, the territory of an ally of the English. Bears the seal of His Majesty. (Pers. 8 Mar. 1790, No. 50).
105. From Tipu Sultan. Says that he has deputed his vakils to the Governor-General in order to negotiate a treaty of peace with the East India Company. Bears the seal of Tipu Sultan 1792 A. D. (Pers. 12 Feb. 1792, No. 114).
106. From Doulat Rao Sindhua. Says that Rao Baji Rao, the elder son of Raghunath Rao, has been installed Peswa in succession to Madhu Rao who is dead. Nana Farnavis would not at first agree to the measure out of selfish motives but had to acquiesce when he found that none of the chiefs would support him. (Pers. 9 Sep. 1796, No. 328).
107. From the Peshwa Baji Rao II. Approving of the suggestion made by Colonel Palmer that before declaring war against Tipu who has concluded a secret treaty with the French, it is necessary to enquire from him whether he still adheres to his engagements made at Seringapatam. Bears the seal of the Peshwa. (Pers. 20 Sep. 1798, No. 361).
108. From Nizam Ali Khan, Nizam of Hyderabad. Intimates that he has made over to Captain Kirkpatrick copies of the correspondence which passed between him and Tipu Sultan. Bears the seal of the Nizam. (Pers. 10 Feb. 1799, No. 19).

109. From Rajā Bhūm Singh of Jodhpur. Promises not to give protection in his country to Vazīr Alī Khān and his associates who had murdered Mr. Cherry. Bears the seal of the Raja (Pers 1 Jul. 1799, No. 174).
110. From Maharajā Krishna Raja Wodeyar of Mysore. Expressing his gratitude on being released and restored to the kingdom of his ancestors which had been usurped by the dynasty of Tipu Sultan. Bears the seal of Maharaja. (Pers. 12 July 1799, No 198).
111. From Maharajā Sīwai Partap Singh of Jaipore. Informs the Governor General that Wazīr (Vizir) has arrived in his country and is now in his custody. Bears the Maharaja's seal. (Pers. 17 Sep. 1799, No. 260).
112. From the Raja of Nepal. Congratulates the Governor-General on the success of the English Fleet in Egypt. Has noted with pleasure that the Sultan of Turkey and the Czar of Russia have joined the English as active allies. Bears the Raja's seal. (Pers. 28 Sep. 1799, No. 286).
113. Letter (in Persian) from Fath Singh Gackwar, Chief of Baroda, to Mr. Macpherson received May 23, 1787. Congratulates him on his appointment to the Office of the Governor-General. Hopes for his favour and support. Bears a seal. (Pers. OR. 1787, No. 263).
114. Letter (in Persian) from Fath Singh Gackwar to Mr. James Anderson, received May 23, 1787. Is delighted to learn that Mr. Anderson has promised to represent properly his case when negotiations take place with the Peshwa. Hopes that he would strongly recommend to the Governor-General that his share of Broach *mahal* should be released in his favour. (Pers. OR. 1787, No 265)
115. Memorial (in Persian) from the Zamindars, Merchants and the Principal Inhabitants of Hooghly, received September 16, 1806, protesting against the abolition of the civil and criminal courts of justice from Hooghly and requesting that the integrity of the District may be maintained. Bears the signatures and seals in Persian, Nagri, and Bengali characters. (Pers. OR. 1806, No. 701).
116. Letter (in Persian) from the Raja of Mysore to Marquess of Hastings, received August 28, 1820. Expresses his grief on the death of King George III and his Joy at the accession of George IV. Written in highly ornate language. Bears a seal. (Persian 1820).

Documents in other Oriental Languages

117. Letter (in Marathi with Persian Translation) from Appaji Sabaji agent of Maharaja Mahadaji Sindhia to Warren Hastings, received May 12, 1779. Says that William Hornby, the Governor of Bombay has been guilty of violating the treaty concluded between the English and the Peshwa Prays that in general interest of the parties concerned the Governor should be directed to abide by the treaty and to consider its observance a sacred obligation. (Pers OR 1779 No 83)
118. Letter (in Marathi) from Tulaji, Raja of Tanjore to the Governor-General, received July 2, 1786 Assures the Governor-General of his faithfulness and sincerity towards the English Company. Proposes the ways and means for the liquidation of his balances due to the Company. Complains against the atrocities of Nawab of Arcot and solicits protection from him. Bears the Raja's seal on the envelope (Pers OR 1786, No 48)
119. Letter (in Marathi) from Rani Durga Bai of Sawantwadi to the Resident professing loyalty and saying that his orders have been carried out. Forwarded by the envoy at Goa under date 24th March, 1814.
120. An illuminated letter (in Marathi) from the Raja of Satara, received October 16, 1837
121. A Marathi illuminated Letter, received in 1837.
122. From Raja Chait Singh of Benares This is a Sanskrit text of the answers of the Pandits of Benares who were asked by the Governor-General to give their rulings in the light of the *Shastras* to a question of law Bears the signatures of the renowned Pandits of Benares (Pers Lr 7 November 1778, No 102)
123. Letter (in Nagri) from Purangir Gosain to the Governor-General, received Nov 20, 1790 Reports that he has been plundered in the country of Deb Raja by the people of Paro Valley who have taken away his gold, coral, clove and one thousand rupees in cash. Requests that a thorough investigation should be made in this matter. (Pers OR 1790, No. 320)
124. Letter (in Bengali) from Babu Hari Mohon to the Dutch Council received 17th Aug 1786 Represents that Mr. Gale is preventing his weavers from manufacturing cloth which the writer supplies to

the Dutch. Requests them to adopt measures as may enable his men to carry on their work without molestation. (Pers. OR. 1786, No. 100).

125. Letter (in Bengali) from the mother of the Raja of Cooch Behar to Lord Cornwallis, received Feby. 21, 1788. Complains against the ill-treatment which she and her son are receiving from Nazir Deo. Solicities protection from his Lordship. (Pers. OR. 1788, No 126).
126. Letter (in Oriya) from the Raja of Bond (in Orissa) to the Commissioner at Cuttuck, received April 23, 1804. Says that he would acknowledge no authority other than the English as his over-lord. (Pers. OR. 1804, No 218).
127. A letter in Kanarese.
128. Letter (in Burmese with Dutch Translation) from the Viceroy of Pegu to the Governor-General, Aug. 1, 1805. Complains against Captain Purser's conduct in seizing a ship within his dominions and requests that he should be punished. (Pers. OR. 1805, No. 424).
129. Letter (in Burmese) from Raja of Arakan to the Governor General received March 1, 1808. Concedes the rights of all the European nations to enjoy equal freedom in the commerce of Burma provided they pay the established duties of the country. (Pers. OR. 1808, No. 96)
130. Letter from the Dharma Raja of Bhutan, received 6 April, 1837. Artistically illuminated borders containing the conventional dragons, conch etc. (Pers. OR. 1837)
131. Letter (in Chinese) from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the King of Cochín China to the Governor-General, received Mar. 27, 1813. In reply to the Governor General's letter of the 16th July 1812 respecting the claims of Messrs Abbot and Maithland of Madras on His Majesty the King of Cochín China. Bears a seal on each page. (Pers. OR. 1813)
132. Letter from the Teshu Lama to the Governor General, received June 28, 1793. Narrates the particulars of the campaign against Nepal and notifies the subsequent conclusion of peace. Expresses satisfaction at the contents of his letter. Desires that the Chinese language of Lhasa may be the medium of communication between them. Bears a seal (Pers. OR. 1793, No. 305).

Specimens of repairing works done in the Imperial Reco Department

133. Manuscripts illustrating the evil effect of repairing document with white tracing paper (H. D. Pub. 9 Oct. 1806, No. 35).
- 133 A The tracing papers were subsequently peeled off and repaired with chiffon. (H. D. Pub. 11 Nov. 1782, No. 6).
134. Specimen of repair with Japanese tissue paper. (P.C. 14 March, 1823, No. 45).
- 135 Specimen of a chiffon repair. (P. C. 29 Mar. 1823, No. 36).
136. Document laminated with cellulose acetate foil. (Done by the National Archives, Washington, U. S. A.). P. C. 2nd June 1825, No. 24 (12 sheets)
137. A repaired manuscript volume illustrating how the isolated sheets of damaged volumes can be mended and made up into sections with guards to have a durable and flexible binding (Beng. Pub Cons. 1758, Sl. No. 9).
138. A book exhibited as a fine specimen of inlaying work. (Thus book was hopelessly damaged by larvae) (Annals of the College of Fort William).

Maps and plans

139. (a) Plan of Bombay, 1758.
(b) Plan of Bombay, 1767.
140. Plan of Cambay, 1775.
141. Reconnoitring plan of Madras by the gentlemen of the Royal Corps, 21st December 1758.

From C O Book Stall, New and Antiquarian Booksellers, 9, Shama Charan De Street, Calcutta —

- 1 'Treatise on the Government of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, with respect to the Revenues and the Administration of Justice from the time of Jaffier Khan to that of Serajeddoula' (Translated from the Persian).

III. Exhibits from the Government of Bengal.

1. Revenue Board Consisting of the whole Council O. C. No. 17 of 11 June 1773. Petition of Lokenath Nandi, Gokul Chandra Ghosal, Darpa Narayan Thakur and Kashinath Babu, salt contractors of Hijili (now in the district of Midnapore), to W. Hastings, President and Members of the Supreme Council at Fort William, representing their grievances in not having the terms of their salt contract complied with.

The signatories to the petition were all well known people in their own day and their families constitute great houses in this generation as well.
2. Revenue Board consisting of the whole Council O. C. No. 6 of 26 November 1773. Letter (in French) dated 1773 from the Chief and Council of French Settlement at Chandernagore complaining against the conduct of Mr. Barwell whose sepoy apprehended a Jamadar attached to the French Factory.

The signatories to the letter constituted the Chief and Council of the French Factory at Chandernagore
3. Calcutta Committee of Revenue O. C. No. 1 of 6 December 1773. Letter dated 23 November 1773 from the Board of Revenue consisting of the whole Council to the Calcutta Committee of Revenue, stating that the Collectors appointed in districts for the collection of revenue have been recalled and formulating the constitution of the six Provincial Councils of Revenue for the same purpose, for the provinces of Bengal and Bihar.

The letter explains an important phase in the revenue administration of the country

during the Government of Warren Hastings. Contains the autographs of Warren Hastings, W. Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, Jas. Lawrell and others.

4. Revenue O. C. No. 1 of 12 September 1775.

Joint minute of Warren Hastings and Richard Barwell, a number of the Supreme Council, on the conduct of Mr. W. M. Thackeray, Collector of Sylhet, in farming the district in his own account contrary to the standing orders of Government.

Mr. Thackeray was the grand-father of the great novelist.

5. Calcutta Committee of Revenue O. C. No. 1 of 20 October 1775.

Letter dated 16 October 1775 from the Revenue Department of the Governor-General of Bengal to the Calcutta Committee of Revenue, enquiring if the French have established within the jurisdiction of the Committee any factories or residencies except in their settlements at Chandernagore and Balasore.

This letter bears the autographs of the Governor-General and his Council, viz. Warren Hastings, Col. George Monsoon, Philip Francis, Richard Barwell and Genl. John Clavering.

6. Rev. O. C. 5 & 8, dated 7th July 1780.

These papers contain a report regarding the death of Nawab Mohammad Irich Khan father-in-law of Nawab Serajuddowlah and also show that Umdat-un-nesa Begum, the eldest daughter of Nawab Irich Khan and the first wife of Nawab Serajuddowlah had no issue.

7. Revenue O. C. No. 26 of 27 October 1780.

Translation of a letter received on 7 October 1780 from Nawab Mubarak-ud-daulah, Nawab Nizim of Bengal, conferring the title of Maharajadhiraj on Raja Shib Chandra of Nadia.

Raja Shib Chandra was the son of Maharajendra Krishna Chandra of the Nadia Raj

Fainly. The letter gives an idea as to how *sanadas* were granted in Hastings's time. A reference to the Indian title of the Governor-General which runs as "Amaudul-Dowlah Governor-General Mr. Hastings Bahadur Jelladut Jang" will also be found.

8. Revenue O. C. No. 28 of 27 October 1780. Draft of a letter dated 27 October 1780 from the Governor General in Council to the Calcutta Committee of Revenue, sanctioning the conferment of the title of Maharaja-Dhiraj on Raja Shib Chandra of Krishnagar.

9. Revenue O. C. No. 2 of 20 February 1781. Draft of a letter to the Committee of Revenue appointing as *Diwan* to the Committee, Ganga Govinda Sing (the person who figures largely in Burke's Impeachment of Warren Hastings).

10. Bd. of Rev. O. C. 35, of 8 September 1786. Contains Geneological table of the Canon-goes' family in Bengal.

11. Bd. of Revenue O. C. 14, of 13 March 1787. Translation of a Sunnud dated 27th of Ramzanul Mobarak in the 17th year of Julus, granted to Ramkanta Roy by Nawab Sarfaraz Khan for the Zemindary of Pargana Rajshahi etc.
 Ramkanta was the husband of famous Rani Bhowani of Rajshahi.

12. Bd. of Rev. O. C. 48 of 8 May 1787. This paper shows that Ghoraghat was once the seat of Government before its removal to Dacca by Emperor Jahangir.

13. Bd. of Rev. O. C. 39, of 13 July 1787. Translation of a Parwanah dated 25th of Showal in the 6th year of Julus under the signature of Nawab Najmuddin Ali Khan Bahadur, Nazim of Bengal, bestowing Paraganah of Bhowal (in Dacca district) on Syed Mohammed Hossian Khan as a conditional military grant for maintaining two military units of 50 horsemen each at Sreepur and Sangramgarh.

14. Bd. of Rev. O. C. 2 & 4 of 20 July 1787. Original letter in Bengali with the seal of Musa Shah Fakir to one Dulal Choudhury, Naib to the Zemindar of Pargana Masidah.
15. Rev. O C 28 of 12 May 1790. This paper contains a brief account of the family of Mohammad Taqi Khan, Do-hazari, son of Faiz Ali Khan, Paymaster General of Bengal during the time of Nawab Alivardy Khan.
16. Rev. O C. 7 of 20 May 1791. This paper contains a report regarding the death of Lutfunnesa Begum, wife of Nawab Serajuddowlah, and a representation from her grand-daughters for continuance of her pension to them.
17. Judl Dept (Criminal) O C. 6 of 23 May 1794. Report from the Magistrate of Dacca-Jalalpur, regarding dacoities specially stealing of girls between the age of 11 or 12 years of age for the purpose of Chandipuja.
18. Bd. of Rev. O C. 60 of 19 December 1800 This paper contains a complete list of Roy Royans i. e. the Peshkars of the Khalsa Sharifa who succeeded one after another to the Jagir of Pargana Patiladah, Pyraband, Sherhatta and Bangaon in Bengal from the year 1131 B S (1724) down to the time of Raja Rajballav.
19. Bd. of Rev. O C. 58 of 13 August 1813. This paper shows that stamped palm-leaves were used for writing documents on them.
20. O. C. No 27 of 6 March 1828. Holograph Minute dated 4 January 1828 of Lord Amherst declining to abolish Sati immediately.
21. O. C No 10 of 4 December 1829. Autograph Minute of Lord William Bentinck recommending abolition of Sati.
22. Rev. O. C 4 of 1 February 1834. Governor-General (Lord William Bentinck's) Minute regarding the introduction and cultivation of Tea plant in India.

VERNACULAR RECORDS

23. Persian Sunnud Register, Vol 17, No. 797, page 2814. Copy of a Farman dated 29th of Zulqad, 3rd year of Julius appointing Nawab Serajud-dowlah as Subahdar of Bengal & Orissa on the death Mohabat Jung (Nawab Ali Vardy Khan).
24. Persian Sunnud Register, Vol. 15, No. 709, page 2545. Copy of a Farman dated 7th Zil Hujj, 25th year of Julius, granting Rupees ten lacs as *Inam* to Nawab Ali Vardy Khan on account of expenses of his troops for defeating the Mahrattas who raided Bengal under Bhashkar.
25. Original Qistbundi dated 1173 B. S (1767) executed by Maharani Bhawani of Natore, Raj for her Zemindari. (This bears the Rani's own signature in Bengali)
26. Original Qistbundi dated 1192 B. S. (1785) executed by Maharaja Dhuraj Tez Chandra Bahadur for pergana Burdwan etc. (bearing his signature in Bengali).
27. Original Qabuliat dated 1192 B. S. (1785) executed by Raja Raj Singh for Pergana Susang (Mymensingh) with his Seal. (Ancestor of the Maharaja of Susahg).
28. Original Patta dated 1191 B. S. (1784) in Persian and Bengali, granted by the order of the Governor-General in Council to Hari Narayan Talukdar for parganas Cherulia Madhudia. It bears the Seal of the East India Company as the Dewan of the province of Bengal;
29. Chinsurah Records Dutch Patta No. 3 of Bundle No. 1. Original Patta dated 1109 B. S. (1702) in Dutch and Bengali for a plot of land in Mouza Chinsurah, Bengal, granted in favour of Mahadeb Nandi and Gokul Nandi for a homestead.
30. Chinsurah Records Patta No. 1375 of Bundle No. 3. Original Patta dated 1202 B. S. (1795) in English and Bengali for a plot of land in Bazar Mirzapur granted in favour of Gangadhar

Sil by J. B. Birch under his signature and seal of English Zemindari Company of Chinsurah.

31.

An original Sale-deed dated 1231 B. S (1825) in Bengali executed by Roshan Gazi, son of Alam Gazi of Jaipara (in Dacca district) in favour of Sreemati Lasman Bibi for selling 6 annas 6 gandas 2 cowries and 2 krantis share of fourteen male and female slaves mentioned in the document which he inherited through the maternal grand-father of his father for a sum of Rs. 32 only.

This document is written on a stamped paper and shows that even in 1825 slaves were treated as a part of landed property in Bengal.

IV. Exhibits from the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay

A. EPIGRAPHICAL.

- (1) An ink estampage of an inscription of the reign of Naravarman of Malwa dated 474 V. E (418 A. D.), recording the construction of a tank by Virasena for the use of the Buddhist monks coming from all the quarters
- (2) An ink estampage of a Persian inscription recording the completion of the construction under the supervision of Santokhrat Mushiraf.

B. SCULPTURAL

- (1) A terracotta plaque depicting birth of Bodhisattva Gautama, from Mirpurkhas, 4th-5th centuries A. D.
- (2) A terracotta plaque depicting a scene in the palace at Kapilavastu in the night just before the Renunciation of Bodhisattva Gautama, from Mirpurkhas, 4th-5th centuries A. D.
- (3) A terracotta plaque bearing the figure of Buddha in Meditation. From Mirpurkhas, 4th-5th centuries A. D.
- (4) A terracotta figure of Mother Goddess From Mathurā. 2nd century A. D.

C. DOCUMENTARY.

- (1) A Persian document dated the 29th Rajjab 1233 Hyri, recording the sale of a house at Dabhoi by one Iswardas Mayaram, son of Hariram, son of Sadaram Majumdar. Presented by Mr. J. M. Majumdar.
- (2) A big scroll, being the original petition dated the 3rd January 1832 sent by the citizens of Bombay to the House of Commons protesting against the Act of Parliament for the relief of Insolvent Debtors in the East Indies which was then in operation in Bombay. It contains the autograph signatures of hundreds of well-known citizens of this city then living. (10 pieces).
- (3) A photograph of a document in the Council of Bombay dated, London the 19th August 1724 with signatures of some important and historical personages

D. NUMISMATICS.

Two plaster casts of a gold coin of Akbar issued from the Udaipur Mint.

Nine Delwara coins of copper (8 of Akbar with Ilahi Legend and one of Jahangir)

V. List of Documents from the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona

1. (a) A Farman of Aurangzeb's Period issued by his son Muazzam in 1076 A. H/1665 A. D. in favour of Sayyad Abdul Ghaffur and Muhammad Said, the Muazzins of the Pargana Nazarbar.
- (b) Back of the same Farman of Prince Muazzam with endorsements
2. (a) An order issued during the period of Aurangzeb (?) to officers of the pargana Kulas Anad in the Khujasta Bunyad (Aurangabad) province in favour of Mehra Ji and Loko Ji.
- (b) The back of the same Farman with endorsements etc

3. (a) An order issued during the period of Muhammad Shah in name of the officers of the pargana Anmali in the Khandesh province in favour of Sheikh Badr-ud-Din Abdul Wahid.
(b) Back of the same order with endorsements, etc.
4. (a) A Farman of Jahangir addressed to Shah Jahan in which Shah Jahan has been chastised for his misbehaviour and disobedience.
(b) A Reply from Shah Jahan in verse justifying his position and apologising.
(c) A letter addressed to the king of Golkunda by Shah Jahan in which a warning has been given to adopt Shah Jahan Law and Order. A reply from the king of Golkunda is a very taunting way.
5. A Farman of Ibrahim Adil Shah dated 943 A. H/1536 A. D. in favour of Korkhu Ji son of Ailo Ji of the pargana Khatano.
6. A Farman of Muhammad Adil Shah addressed to the officers of the pargana Aindapur confirming some grants issued in 1041 A. H/1631 A. D. in favour of Sambha Ji Bhonsla
7. A Farman of Muhammad Adil Shah regarding the pargana Aindapur.
8. A Farman of Muhammad Adil Shah regarding pargana Aindapur dated 1052 A. H/1642 A. D.
9. A Farman of Muhammad Adil Shah regarding the pargana reserved as a source of Zakat etc. from the Queen
10. A Farman of Adil Shahi kings regarding pargana Bai (wai) in Bijapur province.

VI Exhibits from Jodhpur State

- (1) Photograph of a letter relating to the bestowal by the Emperor of the title of Raj Rajeshwar upon the Maharaja.
 - (2) Photograph of a letter relating to the visit of the Emperor himself to the Maharaja's camp as well as of giving him the privilege of standing on the masnad where none had paced till then
 - (3) Photograph of a letter relating to the help rendered to Maharaja Jaisinghi of Jaipur.
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VII. Exhibits from Patna State

1. Copper plate grants :—

Belonging to the Guptas or Somavamśi

Kings of Kosala 4 sets (each containing three plates).

2. Photographs of gold coins found near the village
Kirabahal, Police Station Loisingha 3

3. Copper coins.—

I. Bull & Horseman type 7

II. Bull & Horseman type 7

Legend —

Reverse — Suritana Shree Atachina

Reverse — Sri Hamira.

III. Chauhan Bull and Horseman.

Legend — Samanta... .. 1

IV. Mediaeval dynasty of N. India 2

4. 1872.

A letter from Swasti Sri Maharajadhiraja Sri Maharaja Sri 7 Surapratap Deo Sri Maharaja — Killa Patna — Hal Sambalpur to Pt. Chintamony Nand.

Top — Chakra and initialed in Urdu.

The bill of maintenance sent herewith. You please see the Sahib and try to send the money soon.

5. Samvat 1930 i.e. 1873 A.D. A letter from the Maharajadhiraja Kumari Sri 5 Patna Pata Maha Dei to Pt. Chintamony Nand Vidya-bhusan.

Subject — Chakra at the head.

To return Ukil Nrusingha Tripathy soon with his advice so that he may accompany him to Sambalpur after.

6. 20th May 1877.

A letter from (name illegible), Inspector General of Education C. P. and Curator Government Museum. Requesting Pt. Nand to send some quartz crystals from Patna State to the Museum as the samples collected by Mr. Ball, the Geological Surveyor, have been sent to Calcutta for examination.

7. 23-11-1895.

A letter from Swasti Sri Prataparudra Deba, Feudatory Chief, Sonapur.

Signature Seal with Chakra
in English - Eng - Raja of Sonapur.
P. R. S. D.

Subject:—Requesting him to appear before the Treasury Officer, Sambalpur on 5-12-1895.

8. Dt 14-1-1899.

From Mr. Chapman, P. A. to Mr. Nand conveying Colonel Bowie's warm appreciation and enquiry about Pt. Nand's health.

9. 1900.

A letter from Mr. F. G. Sly to Anirudha Nand conveying condolence at the death of Pt. Bidyabhusan and conveying his appreciation of Oriyas and promising to help any deserving Oriya.

10. Feb. 19th (probably 1917).

A letter from F. G. Sly, Governor of C. P. to Anirudha Nand conveying his remembrance of Pt. Nand's help to him in his early years service.

VIII. Exhibits from the Shardashram, Yeotmal, through Mr. Y. K. Deshpande, Yeotmal, Berar

A. STONE AND COPPER INSCRIPTION

1. An impression of the inscription in Prakrit found at Kayar in Berar. It is in Brahmi characters of the 2nd or 3rd century A. D. It is an aphorism of the Jain religion.

2. An impression of the copper plate grant of Vindhyaśakti Vakataka of the 4th century A. D. It was found at Basim in Berar. It is partly in Sanskrit and mostly in Maharashtra of the time.

3 Impressions of the stone inscriptions of the 5th or 6th century A. D. from the temples at Markanda in C. P.

4. An impression of the stone inscription of the 11th century A. D. at Dongargaon in Berar belonging to Jagaddco Paramara of Dhara in Sanskrit.

5. An impression of the stone inscription of the 11th century A. D. at Jayanada in the Nizam's State from the temple of the Sun god. It describes the construction of the temple by Padmavati.

6. An impression of an inscription in Marathi in the temple at Markanda in C. P. It belongs to Kanhardeo Yadao of Deogiri and is approximately dated in 1255 A. D.

7. An impression of a stone inscription in the Dhadrang temple at Bhandak in C. P. It is in Marathi of the 12th century A. D.

8 An impression of the stone inscription at the cave temple at Patur in Berar. It is in Brahmi characters of the 6th or 7th century A. D.

9 An impression of the stone inscription in Sanskrit on the pedestal of a Jain statue found at Ritpur in Berar. The statue was installed in 1702 A. D. in the reign of Aurangzeb.

10. An impression of the stone inscriptions on the pedestals of Jain statues found at Mehekar in Berar and Mahury in the Nizam's State. They belong to the 12th century A. D.

11. An impression of the copper plates unearthed at Sirso in Berar. It belongs to Govind III Rashtrakuta of the 9th century A. D.

12. An impression of the copper plates found at Khamkhed in Berar. It records a grant by one Pratapsila in the 8th century A. D.

B. ANTIQUARIAN FINDS

13. Photos of the seals found at Mahurzari in C. P. The seals belong to the Gupta period i. e. the 4th century A. D.

14 Photos of the temples at Markanda in C. P. The inscriptions show that the temples are earlier than the 5th century A. D. General Cunningham remarks that the architecture and the statues therein are superior to those at Khajuraho temple.

15. Photos of Shri Ramapanchayatan on one stone unearthed at Mana in Berar. The statue is on black stone while the tilaka and kunkum are in red as a part of the statue.

16. Photos of the gold coin of Chandragupta of the Gupta dynasty, found at Seoni in C. P.

C. DOCUMENTS OF THE MUGHAL PERIOD

17. Wasalata (Revenue statement) in 1536 A. D. giving the income of the villages in the jaghir of one Kamruddin Khan in Berar.

18. Wasalata in 1538 A. D. giving the income of the villages in the jaghir of Raja Pahadsingh in pergunah Darwha in Berar.

19. Dharmapatra (grant) in 1540 A. D. to one Nag Thakur of Darwha in Berar in Modi.

20. 'Shasanapatra (grant) to one Sabha pandit of Talegaon in Berar in 1615 A. D. by one Raje Hanmant rao Supekar.

21. A copy of the order by Aurangzeb in 1672 A. D. about the share in watan between Abdul Rasul and his Hindu brother Krishnaji Rane, Deshmukhs of Darwha in Berar.

22. Ek harphi (revenue statement) of pergunah Papal in Berar in 1681 A. E. in the reign of Aurangzeb.

23. Ek harphi of pergunah Ner Parsopant in Berar in 1698 A. D. in the reign of Aurangzeb in Modi.

24. Ek harphi of Darwha pergunah in Berar in Persian in 1686 A. D. Each page bears the seal of Aurangzeb.

25. Khareeta (royal letter) issued by Daulatrao Sindia on behalf of the Peshwa as wakeel-i-mutalik of the Emperor of Delhi to one Deokate sardar of Sendursani in the Nizam's State. It bears the royal seal in lack.

26. A sanad issued by Aurangzeb in 1696 A. D. with respect to the partition of watan between Abdul Nabi and Lalji Rane, the Mahomedan and Hindu cousins of Darwha in Berar.

D. THE NIZAMS OF HYDERABAD

27. A sanad issued by Chinkilich Khan, father of the founder of the Nizam's State to one Sadawarti pandit of Talegaon in Berar.

28. A sanad issued by Nizam Ali Bahadur in the reign of Emperor Shaha Alam to a mahant of the Mahanubhao sect.

29. A private letter mentioning that the army of Nizamuddin Khan Bahadur reached Udgir, the famous battle field in the Deccan.

30. A sanad issued by Rajah Chandulal the famous divan of the Nizams in 1837 A.D.

31. A letter of a kamavisdar of Ner pergana in Berar throwing light on the system of collection of land revenue in the early administration by the Nizams.

32. A Persian manuscript containing Gulistan, Bostan and divan of the first Nizam. It was written by a Kayastha in the regime of Nabab Nandkar Khan subah of Berar. It is valuable for its calligraphy.

E. THE MARATHAS AND THE RAJAS OF SATARA

33. A copy of the Surat Majlis (an award of the Panchas) in 1710 A. D. settling the dispute about the shares amongst the descendants of Lukhji Jadhao of Sindkhed, maternal grand-father of great Shivaji.

34. A sanad issued by Shahu Maharaj of Satara in 1708 A. D. to one Deokate Sardar of Sendursani in the Nizam's State.

35. Another sanad of the same king to the same family in 1723 A. D. It bears the seal of Shahu Maharaj, Bajirao Ballal Peshwa and Shrinivas rao Pant Pratinidhi.

36. An order by Shahu Maharaj to Kanhuji Bhosla of Bhamb in Berar in 1728 A. D. not to molest the Deokate sardar.

37. An order by Shahu Maharaj to his general Sultanji Nimbalkar in 1728 A. D.

38. An order by Shahu Maharaj to Kanhuji Bhosla in 1732 A. D. to continue the mukasas of the Deokate family.

39. A list of Darbar expenses and najrana required to be paid to the king, queen, courtiers and even to the huzras and dasis in the palace. The list is dated in 1743 A. D. in the reign of Shahu Maharaj.

40. A letter from Poona to Deokate sardar informing him about the movements of Tarabai widow of Rajaram Maharaj and other ladies of the royal family at Satara.

41. A letter from Balaji Bajirao Peshwa to one Abaji Govind Gadre, the famous banker of the Peshwas in 1755 A. D. farming some perganas in satisfaction of debt

42. A letter from one Venkaji to Deokate sardar from Poona about the settlement of accounts of Malharrao Holkar, Madhoji Sindia, and other sardars and also informing that the peshwa Balaji Bajirao was going to the Konkan.

43. An order from Chimnaji Sadashio Sachiv, minister of the Peshwa in 1751 A. D. for paying six percent of particular revenue.

44. A letter from Visaji Krishna Biniwale, a general of the Peshwa to the Deokate sardar.

45. An order from the same general to the Deokate sardar to pay the darbar expenses and to be present in the army with his forces.

46. A letter from Chinto Ram Wakil to Deokate sardar informing him about the order of the Peshwa Balaji Bajirao, to sardars to mobilize their forces at Ahmednagar in 1760 A. D. for sending the army in the North before the battle of Panipat.

47. A letter from Chinto Ram Wakil to Deokate sardar from Rakshasbhuwan, the camp of Balaji Bajirao Peshwa in 1760 A. D. informing him about the 2nd marriage of the Peshwa with a Deshastha girl of nine years from Paithan.

48. Slips of accounts of the army of Vithal Shcodeo Vinchurkar, general of the Peshwa. It includes the item of expenses for attacking the fort of the Mughals by Raghunathrao Peshwa.

49. A news letter (Holkaranchi thaili) by Malharrao Holkar to the Peshwa giving the details of the battle of Panipat. The copy had been written in 1801 A. D., forty years after the battle.

50. An administrative bond issued by one Raja Sheoji Keshao Bahadur borrowing a lac of rupees and farming out pergunah of Chincholi in satisfaction of the debt. The interest mentioned in the bond is rupees 2 percent per month.

51. An order by Madhorao Ballal Peshwa to the Deokate sardar scolding him for being late in the campaign in Karnalik and for paying an amount in about 1769 A. D.

52. An order by Madhorao Ballal to Janoji Bhosla Raja of Nagpur to continue the mukasas to Deokate sardar.

53. A letter from Baburao Sadashio Sachiv to one Raghunathrao Pingle about a dispute between Deokate sardar and Raja Udara descendant of the well-known Rai, begun in the matter of Deshmukh watan of Hingoli in the Nizam's State.

54. A copy of order of Tukojirao Holkar in the matter of dispute about the mahanubhawas.

55. A private letter of one Ranoji Sate about the time of the campaign against Hyder Ali of Mysore. It records the meeting of Mahadji Sindia, Tukoji Holkar and Haripant Phadke with Nana Phadnavis, Moroba Dada and Sakharan Bapu.

56. A letter by Govindrao Sindia to sardar Deokate. It refers to the campaign against Hyder Ali and the Poona politics, in which Moroba Dada and Tukoji Holkar were on one side and Sindia, Phadke, and Raghoba Dada on the side of Nana Phadnavis.

57. Khareeta (royal order) by Madho Narayan alias Sawai Madhorao Peshwa to the Nizam about the saranjam of Deokate sardar. The Khareeta bears the lac seal of the peshwa.

F. RAJAS OF NAGPUR

58. A letter by Kanhuji Bhosla of Bhamb in Berar to the Brahmins of Talegaon Dasasar assuring that his army would not molest them and that they should be without anxiety. It is dated in 1731 A. D.

59. A letter by Raghujji Bhosla II recording an award over a dispute about meherki (leadership) of the Sutars (carpentars) of Patur Sheikh Babu in Berar in 1792 A. D.

60. A private letter from the peshwa's camp recording the attempts of reconciliation between the peshwa and the rajah of Nagpur over a dispute about some mukasas. No date given.

61. An order of Januji Bhosla making a grant to one Govind Bhat Joshi of Akot in Berar in 1753 A. D.

62. An order of Januji Bhosla about the mukasas of the Deokate family in 1756 A. D.

63. An order by Janoji Bhosla to Piraji Naik Nimbalkar about the jaghir of Manaji Deokate in 1756 A. D.

64. A letter by Venkoba Naik Pidadi a famous banker of Chanda in C. P. to one Ramaji Kale, equally famous banker of Karanj in Berar. It records the movements of the armies of Chumnaji Bapu Bhosla of Nagpur and general Ganpatrao Subhedar in the reign of Raghujji II in about 1803 A. D.

65. A letter by Raghuji II, Rajah of Nagpur, making grant to one Rodbhat of Kholapur in Berar in 1826 A. D. The sanad bears the endorsement and signature of Jenkinson, the then political agent of Nagpur.

66. Sanads issued by Sabaji Bhosla from Darwha to Ghate family of Talegaon Dasasar.

G. COIN CABINET

The cabinet contains the coins of the Sassanian kings, those of the Bahamani kings, the Mughal emperors and the Nizams. They are about 30 in number.

IX. Exhibits from Travancore State

I. TRAY OF TRAVANCORE COINS CONTAINING

1.	Thulabhara kasu - gold	...	...	...	2
2.	do. $\frac{1}{2}$ do.	...	...	...	2
3.	do. $\frac{1}{4}$ do.	...	...	...	2
4.	Travancore Pagoda (Varahan)	...	...	...	2
5.	do. ($\frac{1}{2}$ Varahan)	...	...	...	2
6.	Travancore sovereign	...	...	...	1
7.	Travancore half sovereign	...	...	...	1
8.	Ramanathapuram chali $\frac{1}{7}$ Debased gold	...	...	...	2
9.	Virarayan Panam	do.	...	...	2
10.	Kali Panam	do.	...	...	2
11.	Rasi Panam	do.	...	...	2
12.	Madura Kali Panam	do.	...	...	2
13.	Chinna Panam	do.	...	...	2
14.	Anantharaman Panam	do.	...	...	2
15.	Old one chuckram - silver	...	...	...	2
16.	Old two chuckrams ($\frac{1}{2}$ fanam) silver	...	...	...	2
17.	do. $\frac{1}{2}$ do.	...	...	...	2
18.	Cochin Ottaputhan - silver	...	...	...	2
19.	Current $\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee	do.	...	...	2
20.	do. $\frac{1}{4}$ Rupee	do.	...	...	2

21.	Current one fanam - silver	...	...	...	2
22.	Chinna chuckram do.	...	...	...	2
23.	Old cash - copper	...	...	...	2
24.	Ancient cash do.	...	...	...	2
25.	Ancient cash do.	...	...	...	2
26.	Current chuckram do.	...	...	...	2
27.	Current half chuckram do.	...	...	...	2
28.	Current $\frac{1}{2}$ chuckram do.	...	...	...	2
29.	Current cash do.	...	...	...	2

II. BRONZES FROM THE MEENAKSHI COLLECTION

1.	Kaliyamardanam - large	...	...	...	1
2.	do. small	...	...	...	1
3.	Naga handle	...	...	...	1
4.	Ganesa and snake	...	...	...	1
5.	Sarpam handle	...	...	...	1
6.	Chakram handle	...	...	...	1
7.	Lotus bud do.	...	...	...	1
8.	Bell with Hanuman handle	...	...	...	1
9.	Image of Dancer - Paravanachyar	...	...	...	1
10.	Sayana Budha	...	...	...	1
11.	Jaina Thirthankara	...	...	...	1
12.	Handles for bells	...	...	...	2
13.	Valampuri Ganesa	...	...	...	1
14.	Image of Ramadas	...	...	...	1

III. Defeat of the Dutch at Kulachel - copy of a mural painting 17th century - Travancore Archaeological Department.

IV. An unpublished Dutch Record of the Kollam year 838.

HISTORICAL & ETHNOGRAPHICAL PAINTINGS FROM THE BARODA STATE MUSEUM.

By E. F. SASS BRUNNER.

- 1 Sahasralinga Reservoir excavation at Patan
- 2 Navalakhi Vav (L V P) Baroda
- 3 Dwarkadhish Temple (Dwarka)
- 4 Rukmini Temple (Dwarka)
- 5 Damajirao's Chhatra (Patan)

By ELIZABETH BRUNNER.

- 6 Vanaraja Chavada (Patan)
- 7 Rabaris (Patan)
- 8 Rabari women (Patan)
- 9 Kunbi girl (Amreli)
- 10 An old Vagher (Dwarka)

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF EXHIBITS
FROM
THE BARODA STATE

Seventeenth Session of the Indian Historical Records
Commission held at Baroda in 1940

BARODA STATE PRESS

1940

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B Exhibits from the Oriental Institute, Baroda.	2
C. Historical and Ethnographical Paintings in the Baroda State Museum painted by Mrs. and Miss Brunner.	See the last page of the main catalogue.

A. Additional Exhibits from the State Records Department, Baroda.

I TREATIES ETC.

- (1) Summary re the partition of Gujarat prepared in 1768 A. D. by Haripant Phadke. (Copy obtained from the Poona records in 1811 A. D.).
- (2) Treaty between Sayajirao Gaekwad I and the Peshwa, dated 1773 A. D.
- (3) Peshwa's lease to the Gaekwad of the farm of Ahmedabad for the five years from 1799 to 1804 A. D.
- (4) Treaty concluded by Maharaja Anandrao Gaekwar for the maintenance of a British subsidiary force, dated 6th June 1802.
- (5) Maharaja Anandrao's confirmation of the Treaty of 6th June 1802.
- (6) Definitive treaty of general defensive alliance concluded by Maharaja Anandrao Gaekwar, dated 21st April 1805.
- (7) Supplement to the definitive Treaty concluded by Maharaja Anandrao Gaekwar, dated 6th November 1817.
- (8) Supplementary treaty of 1818 A. D. between Maharaja Anandrao and the East India Company.
- (9) Peshwa's perpetual lease to the Gaekwad of the farm of Ahmedabad dated 1817.
- (10) Adoption sanad granted to His Highness the late Maharaja Khanderao Gaekwad, dated 11th March 1862.
- (11) Yadi (Memorandum) dated 26th May 1865 from the Baroda Residency stating that the ports of the Baroda State will be treated in the same way as British Indian ports.

II KHAREETAS

- (1) Letter dated 1st May 1838 from H. E. Sir Robert Grant, Governor of Bombay, to His Highness Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwar (II)

thanking His Highness for his assistance and co-operation in carrying out the project of the Karamsad drain.

- (2) Lord Ellenborough's letter about the restoration of the gates of the Somnath temple.
- (3) Letter dated 16th April 1852 from H. E. Lord Falkland, Governor of Bombay to His Highness Maharaja Ganpatrao Gackwar thanking His Highness for the steps taken to prevent adulteration of cotton.

III MISCELLANEOUS EXHIBITS

- (1) 10 typical letters from the Baroda Historical Selections.
- (2) 5 typical mahal accounts.

B. Exhibits from the Oriental Institute, Baroda.

- (1) Acc. No. 6822 *Padmanābhodaya*.

In 4 paddhatis it describes the reason of the foundation of the Padmanābha temple at Trivendrum and gives a history of the founder.

In Grantha script.

- (2) „ 9386 (a) *S'āhurājakīrtiprathāmāñjarī*.

Describes the life of Raja Sahu and his queen. 1st canto only.

- (3) „ 6157
6165
6199 *Rāmararmayayachampū*

A short history of Rama Varma, Ruler of Travancore. (18th C.) Gr. Script.

- (4) „ 5761 *Jahāngīrcharita*.

(Only some fragments) Nāgarī script

- (5) „ 9386 (b) *S'ajīcharita*.

Describes some events related to Raja Sahu, the grandson of Sivaji. Nāgarī script.

- (6) „ 2486 *Bhatiya-ki-Kulaṭaramṇā*.

A genealogy of the Bhatiya-vamśa in Hindi.

- (7) Acc. No 4370 *Bhāṭana-śānta arnanam*
A prasasti written on the Bhāṭana dynasty,
 whose members were the ministers of Gurjara
 kings Nāgarī script
- (8) „ 5653 *Bhāṣkara-śāsa*
 Describes the life and career of Bhāṣkaraśāsa,
 the teacher of Jagannātha Nāgarī script H Ms
- (9) „ 12795 *Raja amśurali*
 A genealogy of rulers of Kumāraśāla beginn-
 ing from Ananda Chandra Nāgarī script
- (10) „ 8899 *Nripodanta*
 In verse A brief history of India from
 Alexander the Great to the British period
 Nāgarī script

